

# The Life of Language, the Language of Life

Selected Papers from the  
First College-Wide Conference  
for Students in Languages, Linguistics & Literature

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

edited by Dina Yoshimi & Marilyn Plumlee

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## Preface

*Dina Rudolph Yoshimi*  
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This volume is a celebration of the diverse academic pursuits of the graduate students in the College of Languages, Linguistics and Literatures at the University of Hawai'i-Mānoa. In the Fall of 1996, a committee of graduate students and faculty set out to develop a forum within which students from each of the numerous language groups and disciplinary sub-specialties in the College could engage in a day of collaborative, inter-disciplinary learning. The result was the First College-wide Conference for Graduate Students in the College of Languages, Linguistics and Literatures, held on March 15, 1997 on the University of Hawai'i-Mānoa campus. On that day, over one hundred graduate students from the six departments of the college presented their work in individual papers and panel sessions. The corridors of Moore Hall buzzed with the energy of the presenters, and with the excitement of the participants who often found themselves, in the words of one participant, overwhelmed by a "smorgasbord" of sessions. Each of the papers in this volume was originally presented at that conference, and each of the contributors has had the benefit of interaction with her fellow graduate students and faculty, both on the conference day, and in conjunction with the review and revision stages of the production of this volume. Through the energetic efforts and dedicated support that the graduate students and faculty of LLL have contributed to this process, the theme of the conference, "Collaborative Learning", has been fully and productively realized.

The theme of collaborative learning also provides the rationale for the organization of the volume itself. While the contributions to this volume reflect a wide range of disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches to the study of language, the contributors share a commitment to exploring the ways in which language organizes our daily experience and contributes to our understanding of the world around us. Interwoven through this rich mix of studies are common motifs that reflect concerns and interests shared across both languages and disciplines. Each section in this volume, then, unites literary, linguistic and language learning perspectives on a particular motif to create an opportunity for collaborative learning. In the first section, "The Ties That Bind", studies that explore the language of children, siblings and parents, and the complex human relationships that are structured by that language are presented. In the second section, "Y'know What I Mean?", the authors concern themselves with the negotiation of meaning, be it in the context of debate, in a literary work with double meanings or in the give-and-take of everyday interaction. The third section of this volume, "Speak Your Mind", explores the impact of both culturally-ordered ways of thinking and the role of cognition on speech production and language as communicative practice. In the final section, entitled "Twice Told Tales", the focal point is the recursive path of linguistic development and language study, a path where ever-changing understandings of linguistic phenomena and literary works create infinite opportunities for the retelling of old stories in new ways; with each telling, there is new learning and increased understanding. It is with the hope that the LLL Graduate Student Conference will be a site for many tellings and retellings in the years to come that we have prepared this volume.

The completion of this volume would not have been possible without the collaboration of the graduate students and faculty of the College of Languages, Linguistics and Literatures. We would like to recognize the efforts of those students and faculty who served as reviewers: Greg Carter, Kathleen Cassity, Achmad Efendi, Chad T. Green, Eric K. Hauser, Jeff Hayden, Ruth Horie, Terry Klafehn, Miseon Lee, Joy Marsella, Sangsuk Oh, Yumiko Ohara, Janice Omura, Lourdes Ortega-Alvarez-Ossorio, Justin Ota, Kahulu Palmeira, Joan Perkins, Barbara Riley, Philip W. Roe, Scott Saft, Moriyo Shimabukuro, Yuichi Watanabe and Nanette Wichman. We are also extremely grateful to Dean Cornelia Moore for her enthusiastic, unwavering and generous support of both the graduate student conference and this volume. A special note of thanks goes to Bryan Hsu who handled the complex task of inputting the manuscripts and providing the final copy for this

volume. Finally, we extend our heartfelt thanks to the members of the Conference Organizing Committee and to the numerous student volunteers whose tireless efforts resulted in the creation of an opportunity for the college-wide exchange of ideas and sharing of perspectives on the study of language. It is our sincere hope that this volume will preserve and sustain the spirit of interdisciplinary collaboration that characterized both the conference and the compilation of this volume.

# I. THE TIES THAT BIND



# MARRIED TO THE MOB: WOMEN, LOVE, AND WAR IN THE POETRY OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

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## ABSTRACT

This essay explores the ways in which William Wordsworth's poetry of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century treats the social conditions of women of the lower classes, showing how his poems both expose the brutal treatment of women living under the British Empire and participate in their victimization through poetic exploitation. Wordsworth's sensitivity to the advantages and disadvantages of the imperial class system and his own political sensibility are dependent on his own place within that system, his reliance on the upholding of a paternalistic pastoral ideology.

The relationship between literature and the social conditions of women under the British Empire in the eighteenth century, as a result of the British Empire's "husbanding" of men for warlike and expansionist activities in the decades immediately following the French Revolution, is an area worthy of further critical exploration. Advancements in military technology, imperialist activities, and industry impacted women's lives and marriages in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The relationship between women and the wars and technology from which they were largely excluded is a complex one, and I am particularly interested in how the effects of technology, war-making, and industrialization were felt unevenly across class lines, and how these effects were represented in writings of the time. In her book *Romanticism and Gender* Anne Mellor points out that "the dialogue and struggle between masculinity and femininity is one that occurs not only between the writings of men and women in this historical period but also within canonical Romantic poems and prose works" (29); it is necessary to focus on women as both authors and subjects in order to show how literary practice is a partner in—not merely a commentary on—the workings of imperialist capital. A major question such a study must address is whether works contest the oppression of women or endorse and even participate in it. Writers like William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Hannah More, Anna Laetitia Barbauld, Helen Maria Williams, Mary Wollstonecraft, Maria Edgeworth and Jane Austen are all worthy of considering from this perspective.

This essay will focus on selected poetry of William Wordsworth. When Wordsworth was writing what many critics consider to be some of his most politically "radical" poetry in the late eighteenth century, England and France were at war, both imperial powers were conquering the globe, England was dealing with the rebellion of the Irish, and France was experiencing the effects of the French Revolution. England had been at war with France since the early 1790's, and the English were sensitive to the repercussions of Britain's military activity in Europe and in the colonies. Not only did recruiting officers gather "'mortal men' for the slaughter," but their buying "whole corn fields into wastes" ravaged the farming industry, led to the high price and scarcity of bread in England, and ultimately plunged the country into a famine by the mid-1790's (Erdman, quoting Blake 227-8). Many of Wordsworth's poems deal with the poet's criticism of war and imperialist activity, especially as they relate to the concepts of domesticity and nationalism. War is a constant concern for Wordsworth, who is often misrepresented as a poet who experienced a momentary surge of revolutionary idealism in the 1790's and then retreated into conservatism and quietism. However, Wordsworth's criticism of war, implicit in much of his poetry of the 1790's and early 1800's, is complicated. He invites criticism of his own government when its warlike activity results in the suffering of British subjects—as in works like the "Discharged Soldier" fragment and "The Ruined Cottage." However, when the "perpetrator" is another nation—such as France under Napoleon—the problem of war invites the kind of outspoken nationalism (though often combined with criticism of the British government's practices) that is found in the "Sonnets Dedicated to Liberty" and the lengthy prose work, *The Convention of Cintra*. In this work, however, he refers to

both Britain's American War (in which Britain was holding on to the colonists) and the French Revolution (which resulted in Napoleon's rise to power) as "two wars against liberty" (*Prose Works* Vol. 1 308). Nevertheless, throughout his poetry, even when he is critical of his government's practices, Wordsworth never abandons the idea expressed in 1809 in *The Convention of Cintra*, that Britain is "the most favoured nation on earth" (*Prose Works* Vol. 1 253). Thus Wordsworth hates war, but loves his country, and his domestic concerns of the 1790's, which develop into nationalistic concerns by the early eighteenth century, fuel his anti-imperialist sentiments, even against England, though those are sometimes muted or obscured.

In terms of his domestic concerns, Wordsworth's focus is clearly on women of the lower classes. Abandoned, destitute, rural women are provocative characters in the ideologically complex poems like "The Ruined Cottage," "The Female Vagrant," and "Ruth," which will be the primary focal points of this essay. Military subjects, rural yeomen, tradesmen, and their families were all victims of British imperialist activity, which influenced, among other things, the rise in international trade and the development of agricultural industrialism, as well as required engagement in war.<sup>1</sup> What makes these poems so intriguing is the tensions within them, the conflicts expressed between imperialistic and nationalistic ideals versus the ravages of war; the dignity versus utter abjection of the destitute; the victimization of women versus the relative "freedom" of men—and perhaps most importantly, the literary coopting of women and their suffering. Is this exploitative? English domesticity is at the root of Wordsworth's political concerns, and he both expresses a disapproval of his country's political practices as well as a desire to maintain a stratified, paternalistic social system even in poems written in what many consider to be Wordsworth's short-lived "superficial delirium of Jacobinism" (Ross 61). In contrast to this critical attitude, John Williams, in his book *Wordsworth: Romantic Poetry and Revolution Politics*, characterizes Wordsworth's political stance as "a position of dissidence independent of Jacobinism" which Wordsworth "carried forward from an eighteenth-century English tradition" of Commonwealthman beliefs and practices (177)—and which is a constant presence throughout his poetic career. Thus Wordsworth's complex blend of conservatism and radicalism is not merely influenced by the French Revolution, but is rooted in seventeenth and eighteenth century aesthetic and political traditions. This helps to explain why he wants to change some things but not others. In his poetry, Wordsworth pitied the rural women, but also wanted to keep them down. These underlying tensions are what make his poems more complicated than they might appear on a first reading.

The suffering of British subjects, resulting from Britain's imperialist interests, is explored in several of Wordsworth's poems composed in the 1790's, especially with respect to the British Empire's abandonment of its domestic concerns in favor of overseas ones, which resulted in the exploitation of men and the brutal victimization of women. In several of his poems, such as "The Ruined Cottage," "The Female Vagrant," and "Ruth," women are the victims of economic devastation, famine, war (usually by being left behind, but also by being dragged along as is the case in "The Female Vagrant"), and the men who neglect, abuse, and abandon them as the unavoidable by-product of their involvement in war- and Empire-making.

"The Ruined Cottage," written in 1797-8 and eventually revised into Book I of *The Excursion*, is a moving example of Wordsworth's ongoing concern—peaking poetically at this time—with the victimization of imperial subjects; this includes not only the soldiers but the women who are invariably left behind at home to hunger, suffer, and eventually die there. As the title suggests, the impetus for the telling of "The Ruined Cottage" is a country cottage that has fallen into ruin at a time when the British Empire is thriving, while years before it was well-tended, inhabited by a loving couple and their two children. The poem really centers around the Pedlar's story of Margaret, whose tragic life and miserable death are brought upon her by events beyond her control. Her downfall is also the downfall of rustic domesticity which occurs because of industrialization. Thus what moves the Pedlar to tell his story of Margaret to the poet/narrator is the sight of a decayed household item, whose broken tangibility stirs his memory: "When I

stooped to drink,/A spider's web hung to the water's edge,/And on the wet and slimy foot-stone lay/The useless fragment of a wooden bowl,/It moved my very heart" (Gill, ed. 31ff, 88-92). The Pedlar's notion of humanity is immediately connected to an interest in material things, since it is through the selling of material things that he makes a living; however, as the poem develops we see that his emotional reaction to the bowl and what it symbolizes pointedly exceeds any commercial interest he may have in it.

He is clearly more concerned with Margaret's fate than that of her husband, and it is with her and her infant that he identifies. Although Robert is a weaver and yeoman, who would work long hours in his garden "till the day light/Was gone and every leaf and flower were lost/In the dark hedges" (128-30), and although the house falls into ruin apparently because of his illness and later departure, it is Margaret on whom the Pedlar focuses and to whom he symbolically connects the cottage. This is because, on a literal level, women were not free to roam from the home as men were (cf. Collings 77). Thus she represents the lost domesticity, and her death is described as *the* direct link to the ruin of the cottage: "She is dead,/The worm is on her cheek, and this poor hut,/Stripped of its outward garb of household flowers/Of rose and sweet-briar, offers to the wind/A cold bare wall whose earthy top is tricked/With weeds and the rank spear-grass. She is dead..." (103-108).

Margaret's death and the decay of her home entail the breaking down of barriers separating inside from outside. With Margaret gone, "the unshod colt,/The wandering heifer and the potter's ass,/Find shelter now within the chimney-wall/Where I have seen her evening hearth-stone blaze/And through the window spread upon the road/Its chearful light" (111-116). Here Wordsworth exposes the irony of protecting or extending national borders (perhaps what Robert is off doing) at the expense of losing domestic ones (this is the time of the Irish rebellion; the threat of invasion from France was also at its greatest).

However, there is a powerful paradox at work in "The Ruined Cottage" (not to mention the irony that Ireland might just want what Wordsworth claims for the British). In addition to the implied nationalism in the poem, which is represented by the emphasis on the problem of borders destroyed, and the desire to maintain a paternalistic pastoral ideology with manors and dependent cottagers like Margaret and Robert, a critique of British participation in war also fuels the telling of the Pedlar's tale. In the Pedlar's explanation of the causes that have led to the ruination of the cottage—the famine of the 1790's, unemployment, and war—war is depicted clearly as the greatest evil, what the Pedlar refers to as "a worse affliction" (136). While famine has been devastating, resulting in "two blighting seasons when the fields were left/With half a harvest" (134-5), war besieges the land as well, by directing the nation's efforts, attention, and resources—especially in the form of men—elsewhere.

The story of the poverty that Margaret's family falls into involves the suffering of Margaret and Robert (as well as their children), but it is primarily Margaret's suffering that we see. Thus the poem is really a story of Margaret's victimization and the Pedlar's identification with her, and it highlights the unequal situation between her and Robert in terms of personal freedom and economic opportunity. But it is also about the Pedlar's—and Wordsworth's—domination of this suffering woman. As Collings points out, the Pedlar "may simply be another Robert, who abandons her to find what he has lost, a job and its attendant dignity" (79). In times of economic hardship men were forced to abandon women for money and jobs. While before the hard times Robert worked at home as a weaver and yeoman, poverty forces Robert out to do odd jobs—or to do nothing at all. The situation weighs on him: "And poverty brought on a petted mood/And a sore temper: day by day he drooped,/And he would leave his home, and to the town/Without an errand would he turn his steps/Or wander here and there among the fields" (175-9). Liu explains how Wordsworth conceived of weaving "as the traditional exemplar of British labor" (327), a trade which was in the process of changing in the 1790's. Thus Wordsworth "situates Robert in a crux *between* the traditional economies of weaving," shifting

from an independent, Northern-style weaver to one reliant on the more centrally controlled Bristol-area putting out system which rendered weavers indebted to clothiers who owned the wool (329). There is a connection to Empire even here, since the change in industry is bound up with a focus on world-wide trade, rather than merely local autonomy. Liu points out the connection between Robert's disintegration and his former position of relative occupational independence: "Robert's psychological decay begins only after a discovery that would be traumatic to any Northern saver—the little he had stored...was all consumed" because it had been spent; this Liu contrasts with Margaret's very different situation, since in his absence she must subsist "on the much more impoverished by-occupation of spinning flax" (330). Poverty drives men from home, and leaves women stranded, abused, ultimately neglected, and financially ruined. According to the Pedlar Robert resorts to abusive behavior and acts cruelly to the children: "And 'twas a piteous thing to see the looks/Of the poor innocent children. 'Every smile,' [of her children]/Said Margaret to me here beneath these trees,/'Made my heart bleed'" (182-5).

In the second part of the poem the Pedlar describes how war on behalf of Empire—like poverty caused by famine and industrialization—also leaves women stranded by driving men from home and into the military service. Margaret's husband, sick, poor, and cruel, eventually leaves for good—apparently because he thinks it is for the questionable good of his family. Several days after his disappearance, Margaret finds a "purse of gold" (264), and realizes that he has been bribed into the military service: "'The tidings came that he had joined a troop/Of soldiers going to a distant land./He left me thus—poor Man! he had not heart/To take a farewell of me, and he feared/That I should follow with my babes, and sink/Beneath the misery of a soldier's life" (268-273). While she avoids the fate of the "Female Vagrant," who is dragged along with her husband to the American War with disastrous consequences, Margaret nevertheless sinks beneath the misery of her life as a wife abandoned by a husband who ultimately "mortgages" himself "for a wage and then disappears, in total indebtedness, into the armies of the other[s]" in power who control the system of capital (Liu 330).

Margaret's situation worsens, and the great irony here is that the "purse of gold" does nothing to alleviate her suffering. It is apparently not enough to live on; it certainly can do nothing to alleviate her emotional pain. She ultimately crosses over the fence surrounding her cottage. This is a symbolic barrier for women, who are supposed to stay at the hearth, as well as a false sense of security for them, since it really does not protect them at all. As a "false" barrier, as well as a "false" sense of security, it cannot contain her, but neither can it open onto anything positive or fruitful. She now begins to wander; but while her husband wandered with a destination (to town, to war), Margaret is left to wander aimlessly. As she later tells the Pedlar, "'I have been travelling far, and many days/About these fields I wander, knowing this/Only, that what I seek I cannot find'" (349-51). If she seeks anything, it is her husband. She certainly doesn't have the luxury of seeking enlightenment, or even better, employment.

Ultimately, a vagrant Margaret stops taking care of her baby, who "from within...cried aloud" (326-7), as well as her home, which becomes covered with weeds and functions as a resting place for animals, who lie "even at her threshold" (336). Before long Margaret's victimization becomes complete. After Robert's departure the only things she has left are her home and children, and she ultimately loses all of these. The cottage falls into an ever greater state of decay; she is forced to sell her elder child into a form of servitude, to become a "serving-boy/Apprenticed by the parish" (346-7); after that her infant dies, "and she was left alone" (437).

Throughout Margaret's suffering, no one informs her of her husband's condition or whereabouts. As the Pedlar says, "if he lived/She knew not that he lived; if he were dead/She knew not he was dead" (397-99). Thus, for "five tedious years/She lingered in unquiet widowhood,/A wife and widow" (446-8), with no rest, no peace of mind, and in a state of stagnant misery. Despite her senseless roaming, Margaret remains stuck to her home, unable to leave, forced to return from time to time to an ever more decrepit home for one simple reason: she has no



alternative. So "In sickness she remained, and here she died,/Last human tenant of these ruined walls" (491-2).

Wordsworth's moving treatment of the victimization of women like Margaret and the ruin brought upon them by a government's directing its resources out of the domestic sphere and into war, however, is tempered by the Pedlar's optimistic coopting of Margaret and her experience for its poetic and cathartic effects. The Pedlar's story has such an effect on the narrator that he "thought of that poor woman as of one/Whom I had known and loved" (207-8). And yet, once her tale is told Margaret is no longer a living, suffering human being; she has become a story, and a well-rehearsed one at that. Much of the effect that the Pedlar's story has, the "chillness" that runs through the narrator's veins (213), is due to the *manner* of the telling. The tale is told "with such familiar power,/With such a[n active] countenance, and eye/So busy, that the things of which he spake/Seemed present..." (208-212). As a story about the liberating power of the imagination and its ability to crystallize life into art, Margaret's tale of suffering leads the Pedlar to his final state of "happiness" (525). Many critics have noted that this is a problematic aspect of the poem. As Liu says in response to Cleanth Brook's statement on the "richness of imagery" in the poem:

When persons such as Margaret become patterns in an imagery wholly distanced from normal human concerns, equanimity in the face of suffering seems inhuman...it is a cheat, a fraudulent account of human poverty able to create a luxury of nature or art with no usable cultural value at all. (322)

Mellor too has her criticism of Wordsworth's taking pleasure in "silencing the female" in this poem (cf. Mellor 19). However, while this may be construed as "poetic peddling" that is "exploitative" (Liu 348), we should also be able to see the ways in which many of Wordsworth's concerns, while apparently contradictory, were deeply interrelated. The poem is indeed a form of victimization of woman—male domination and coopting of female experience. But it is also a record of that experience, which might otherwise be forgotten. The poem is a condemnation of the machinery of war and its exploitation of the people's dependence on capitalism, of Robert's being bought into military service, and of the uselessness of his bribe in improving his family's situation.

The Pedlar's motives are complex. He is apparently moved by Margaret's situation, and yet he never offers to help her. In addition, in his description of the effects of famine and war on the country the Pedlar says, "I with my pack of winter raiment saw/The hardships of that season: many rich/Sunk down as in a dream among the poor,/And of the poor did many cease to be,/And their place knew them not" (140-44). In other words, one of the negative results of economic devastation is the disintegration of the system governing the rich and the poor: the rich become poor, while the poor become dead. Wordsworth wants the hierarchical system to remain intact, because he depends on it too. Thus we can see that the Pedlar is victimized by the system as well; he is "deeply implicated in Margaret's suffering. By dallying with it, he risks falling prey to his own kind of incipient madness" (Collings 83). In fact, everyone in the poem suffers: Margaret, Robert, their children, and the Pedlar. The destruction of the paternalistic pastoral system, and the individuals who depend on it, is an undesired effect of misguided warlike, imperialistic, as well as industrialist impulses. The poem then, is nationalistic, yet critical of government. It records the victimization of Margaret and coopts her at the same time. It opposes war, but endorses class and gender distinctions. While this may seem to be at odds with Wordsworth's presumed "revolutionary" stance of the 1790's, Williams points out that the poet's "assumption of class superiority...was not exceptional among radicals in the 1790's" (127). And Collings explains that "rather than imagining an alternative to war, which would require something like the reinstitution of culture, he creates a persona who pushes the consequences of war for the abandoned woman from poverty to death and then turns death into life" (90). But she is only given such "life" via the poetry of men. This depiction of the victimization of women in the context of Empire comes out in some of Wordsworth's other works as well, especially "Ruth" and "The Female Vagrant," which both involve complicated critiques of the American war and the impulse to explore the American territory.

"The Female Vagrant" makes up a part of the *Salisbury Plain* poems, which were first composed in 1793-4 when England and France were bitterly at war with one another. "The Female Vagrant" section focuses on the tragedy of Britain's earlier participation in the American War through the depiction of the victimization of a woman who, in this case, is not tied to a place as Margaret was. The alternative Wordsworth offers, however, is no better: She is dragged along to war and must watch her husband and children die.

In the poem, the "female vagrant" tells the poet how her mother died in childbirth, how her father was reduced to poverty, and how she turned her hopes from one man to another. She thus moves from a state of total dependence on her father to dependence on her husband, with whom she has three children. War soon corrupts her happy family, however, through its strategy of taking men from their homes and work to fight in the military service. She explains, "'For war the nations to the field defied./The loom stood still; unwatched, the idle gale/Wooed in deserted shrouds the unregarding sail'" (Gill, ed. 22, 295-7). Marriages suffer as a result of the war, and as this passage suggests, the only "wooing" going on is between the wind and the death ships that bring subjects overseas to fight, suffer, and die. The "female vagrant's" husband sees little alternative to war (since his upbringing does not allow him to consider begging acceptable for a man) and she is dragged along with him: "'He could not beg: my prayers and tears were vain;/To join those miserable men he flew./We reached the Western world a poor devoted crew'" (304-6). The men's devotion—to country and other soldiers, not to their wives—goes unrewarded, though not unpunished. Being taken along allows the "female vagrant" a perspective not afforded Margaret in "The Ruined Cottage": she sees firsthand the victimization of British subjects as a result of war. As she explains, war lives off the blood of its people:

The pains and plagues that on our heads came down  
Disease and Famine, Agony and Fear,  
In wood or wilderness, in camp or town,  
It would thy brain unsettle even to hear.  
All perished, all in one remorseless year,  
Husband and children one by one by sword  
And scourge of fiery fever: every tear  
Dried up, despairing, desolate, on board  
A British ship I waked as from a trance restored. (316-24)

In this case, we see that if the fighting did not kill those overseas, the fever did. The "female vagrant" loses her husband and her children. Like the discharged soldier, she returns to her homeland with nothing, alienated and doomed to vagrancy. As she touchingly tells the poet, "'homeless near a thousand homes I stood,/And near a thousand tables pined and wanted food'" (386-7). It is not made clear why no one will help her; perhaps she cannot bring herself to beg.

In the poem "Ruth," on the other hand, begging and vagrancy ironically are the title character's only tickets to "freedom." In this poem, originally composed between 1798-9, the title character's victimization is also clearly tied to expansionist, imperialistic impulses in America. In this poem, as in "The Ruined Cottage" and "The Female Vagrant," Wordsworth shows—by playing on the notions of freedom and slavery—how the only freedom women have to roam on their own is through vagrancy; otherwise they are enslaved to men who are themselves enslaved to imperialistic desires or activities. In this case, Ruth's husband's participation in war is over, but it has left a lasting impact on him, irrevocably corrupting him and resulting in her suffering and downfall.

In the poem we learn that Ruth meets a man who had been a British soldier in the American War, who has also lived among the Indians, and who has returned to England bearing Indian attire and telling stories of the battles he fought and the exotic things that he saw. He is

portrayed as a man of nature; however, he ultimately proves to be the embodiment of the imperialistic obsession with the occupying of "uncivilized" lands and the claiming of cultural trophies as a reward, and his characterization exposes the ambivalent condemnation of "inferiors," but also the envy and imitation of them. He is extremely appealing; he is described as fairer than a panther, and sportier than a dolphin (Butler and Green, eds. 192-3, 31-36). He seduces Ruth and convinces her to return to America with him, his "helpmate in the woods to be,/Our shed at night to rear;/Or run, my own adopted bride,/A sylvan huntress as my side/And drive the flying deer" (85-90). While a life in the woods hunting deer sounds attractive, it is as much indicative of his desire to dominate nature as to live in harmony with it. And in fact, Ruth's dream of happiness with this man shatters soon after they are married, when her husband, entirely corrupted by his previous activities, becomes "the slave of low desires" (147) and deserts his new wife as they are about to depart for their voyage.

However, the passages explaining Ruth's husband's actions appear intentionally ambiguous. While Wordsworth says that he had roamed the West "with vagrant bands/Of Indians" (113-14), four stanzas separate these lines from the ones in which he says, "Deliberately and undeceiv'd/Those wild men's vices he receiv'd,/And gave them back his own" (142-44). Are they the Indians' vices he received? Since there is no clear, immediate antecedent for "these men," Wordsworth could be implying that it is the other colonizers who corrupted him, and whom he corrupted. In addition, his reference to the "vagrant bands" of Indians alludes to their being evicted from the land they had occupied for centuries, and links them to the victims of Empire in Wordsworth's other poems under consideration here, the discharged soldier (who searches for, but does not find, his "native home") and the abandoned, vagrant wives. Still, the ambiguous treatment of the Indians in this poem is troubling; however, it is clear that Ruth's husband's former activities—which he engaged in while a soldier—resulted in his degradation. It was war, after all, that brought him to America in the first place.

After she is deserted, Ruth is deemed mad "And in a prison housed" for three years (171). Here Wordsworth plays with traditional conceptions of slavery and freedom. Ruth's only escape from prison is into vagrancy, but this situation is preferable to being locked up:

When Ruth three seasons thus had lain  
There came a respite to her pain,  
She from her prison fled;  
But of the Vagrant none took thought,  
And where it liked her best she sought  
Her shelter and her bread.

Among the fields she breath'd again  
The master-current of her brain  
Ran permanent and free,  
And to the pleasant Banks of Tone  
She took her way, to dwell alone  
Under the greenwood tree. (181-192)

While Ruth is in a sense enslaved by a society that offers women vagrancy as the only alternative to imprisonment, at least in vagrancy Ruth is her own "master," and her mind—though termed "mad" by a patriarchal society—is free.

Vagrancy, of course, is no picnic (not for soldiers, Indians, or wives, and to some degree in this poem Wordsworth may be mocking his own attraction to living at home in nature). It brings discomfort and hunger. Nevertheless, as the poet explains,

If she is press'd by want of food  
 She from her dwelling in the wood  
 Repairs to a roadside,  
 And there she begs at one steep place,  
 Where up and down with easy pace  
 The horseman-travellers ride. (205-10)

Unlike the "female vagrant's" husband, Ruth is not too proud to beg. While begging is hardly a desirable activity, it is certainly preferable to going to prison or to war (what the "female vagrant's" husband does instead). Thus "Ruth" is a complex commentary on the apparently irreversible, destructive effects of warlike and imperialistic activities on both the men who are enslaved to them as well as the women who love these men. That an abandoned wife can only find freedom, can only be her own "master," through vagrancy, is a tragic statement on the British Empire's victimization of women. Thus Wordsworth shows, especially with "The Ruined Cottage," "The Female Vagrant," and "Ruth," the devastation and suffering wreaked by the British Empire not only on those abroad, but on those at home as well, and on women in particular—especially women of the lower classes who have no options. In *Salisbury Plain*, Wordsworth movingly conveys how imperialist ventures abroad "enslave" those at home in a passage about the oppression wreaked by war in general:

From the pale line to either frozen main  
 The nations, though at home in bonds they drink  
 The dregs of wretchedness, for empire strain,  
 And crushed by their own fetters helpless sink,  
 Move their galled limbs in fear and eye each silent link. (Gill, ed. 27, 442-50)

These "fetters" that bind the victims of Empire, as we have seen, are both literal and figurative. Why would nations "strain" for Empire when their subjects are so brutally victimized? This is a question Wordsworth can ask, but cannot easily answer, in part because of his own nationalism.

While in Wordsworth's poetry the women of the lower classes suffer tremendously as a result of their husbands' involvement in imperialist activities, in the works of authors whose focus is on women of the upper classes the situation is very different. In my further development of this project I hope to discover the significance of these differences.

## NOTES

- 1 Arnold Schmidt discusses the link between sailors and the rural poor and explains that "some sailors were originally small farmers who had been dispossessed of land by enclosure and were forced to seek employment at sea" (208).

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# MOTHER'S ROLE IN JAPANESE DINNERTIME CONVERSATION

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## ABSTRACT

Modern, middle class Japanese mothers are portrayed as the center of family life and as being single-handedly responsible for nurturing the family. This study demonstrates through a microanalysis of dinnertime narratives that the Japanese mother plays a dominant role in dinnertime narratives, reflecting the societal view of the mother. The dinnertime narratives are mostly about children and are initiated by either a mother or a child; the mother plays a prominent role in those narratives in the amount and quality of her contributions. She is not only a listener for her children's narratives but also a collaborator in telling those narratives. By doing so, she establishes a close mother-child relationship.

## I. INTRODUCTION

It has been stated that the central role of the modern Japanese housewife is to fulfill family needs as a nurturer of her family in order to maintain family solidarity (Vogel, 1978). Although outwardly the Japanese husband assumes the role of the head of the family, the modern, middle-class Japanese housewife has been single-handedly responsible for the well-being of the family and for managing all aspects of her children's education (Vogel 1978, Imamura 1987). Recently, however, Japan has been experiencing rapid societal changes and Japanese women have greater variety in life. The number of housewives working outside the home has dramatically increased (Ueno, 1994). In addition, more women have interests outside the home, and take cultural courses and do volunteer work. This paper examines whether these societal changes are reflected in a middle class Japanese mother's communicative acts in daily conversation, and if she maintains the traditional bonds between herself and her children through her talk.

Ochs and Taylor (1995) demonstrate that the roles of the mother in the family are revealed through an analysis of daily communicative acts of dinnertime conversation. In modern Japanese families, dinnertime is one of the few times left for busy families to get together. Although many families can get together no more than a few times a week for dinner, a majority of Japanese recognize the importance of dinnertime as the time when family conversation takes place (Yoneda, 1993). Ochs (1988) further states that if language is a meaning-making system and language activities are meaning-making activities, then language reflects society and culture. Thus, this study examines the quality of the mother's contribution to dinnertime conversation and determines if her role in family discourse reflects her role as educator of the children and household manager.

## II. REVIEW OF PREVIOUS STUDIES

The role of the Japanese mother in modern Japan has been studied in the fields of sociology and anthropology. Vogel (1978) studied the role of the mother as the caretaker of the family and found that the Japanese suburban housewife almost single-handedly carried the responsibility for raising her children. Imamura (1987) found that child raising is weighted heavily among the housewife's jobs. Japanese society tends to judge a mother's achievement by how well she manages her home, and especially how successful her children are (Vogel, 1978; Imamura, 1987).

Studies of family discourse have contributed to clarifying gender identities within the home. Ochs and Taylor (1995) studied the gender roles of family members in dinnertime narratives of middle class, white American families. They found that dinnertime narratives were typically introduced by mothers about children to fathers. Generally, the daily activities of the children were presented to the fathers who judged them. Their study found that by targeting the fathers as

the main recipients of the stories, the mothers exposed their children and themselves as targets of criticism and evaluation by the fathers.

Yoneda's study (1993) is the only study which directly focuses on Japanese family discourse. Through an analysis of dinnertime conversation, the study found that the mother initiates and narrates more than any other family member. Yoneda concluded that the mother plays a central role as the master of ceremonies or as a listener while the father talks the least. However, the type and quality of contributions each family member provides is not clear from Yoneda's study and the scale of involvement is not objectively explained.

This study looks at conversational narratives as a vehicle to share personal experience as well as to take perspectives (Labov, 1972; Ochs, et al., 1992). Narratives are shared by listeners and are something that listeners can "empathetically insert themselves into, vicariously reexperiencing what took place" (Goffman, 1974:504). It is also proposed that storytelling is an interactionally achieved discourse (Ochs, et al., 1992a). Verbal communication has been regarded as a joint achievement (Goodwin, 1986). Duranti (1986) notes that the audience functions as a "co-author" by critically contributing to the direction the story takes. While there may be a principal narrator or initial narrator, stories are developed across speakers. Thus narratives are vehicles of human communication.

In this study, I examine the Japanese middle class mother's contribution by analyzing family narratives and focusing on the linguistic features and content of those narratives. I will focus on some specific family narratives and microanalyze the data. Through this analysis, I will attempt to further clarify and illustrate the nature of the mother's role.

### III. METHODOLOGY

This section will explain the specific terms which are used in this study. Labov (1972:360) defined the conversational narrative as "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which actually occurred". Labov defined a minimal narrative (p. 361) as "containing a single temporal juncture". In this paper, Labov's term "minimal narrative" is used to indicate the smallest unit of narrative.

The initiator of a narrative is the speaker who directly starts a narrative without being asked. An elicitor asks for others to tell a narrative. The narrator is the main speaker of the narrative. There can be two narrators if the contributions of each narrator are about equal in quantity of information given. The recipient is a participant in a narrative other than the narrator. The protagonist is the subject of the narrative. The primary recipient is the one to whom a narrative is predominantly oriented verbally.

The primary data in this study comes from five middle class families in different parts of Japan. Each family was asked to tape-record their dinnertime conversation twice when both the father and the mother were present. The parents in this data are in their 30s and 40s. There are 12 children altogether and the average child's age is 11. Two of the mothers are full-time workers, two mothers are full-time housewives and one is a part-time tutor who works at home.<sup>1</sup>

### IV. ANALYSIS

#### 4.1. Narrative Topics and Types

In this section, the narratives are categorized and analyzed by type of narrative.<sup>2</sup> This section also shows the distribution of the narrators, recipients and protagonists. Narrative topics are divided into (1) narratives of children's matters, (2) narratives of family matters, and (3) others. Narratives of children's matters are further divided into narratives of school-related

matters and narratives of explicit socialization. In school-related topics, family members discuss school events. In narratives of explicit socialization one or both parents explicitly discuss and teach children about the rules of the society. In this data, narratives about children's matters are by far the most common theme during dinnertime. Out of 42 narratives 23 are about children. Out of these 23 narratives, eight are on the explicit socialization of children, seven are on school-related topics and seven concern family matters.

Table 1 shows the distribution of the roles of the narrator, initiator/elicitor, protagonist and primary recipient among the family members. The prominence of the mother's role in

Table 1. The Distribution of the Role of Narrator, Initiator and Protagonist				
	Initiator/ Elicitor	Narrator	Protagonist	Primary Recipient
Mother	20 (48%)	20 (48%)	5 (12%)	23 (55%)
Father	7 (16%)	12 (29%)	1 (2%)	13 (31%)
Children	15 (36%)	16 (38%)	19 (46%)	20 (48%)
Others	-----	-----	17 (40%)	---
Total	42 (100%)	48(115%) <sup>3</sup>	42 (100%)	56 (134%)

family narratives is clearly shown. This table illustrates that in about half of the narratives, the mother is the narrative initiator and a narrator while the father is an initiator or elicitor only 16% of the time. The mother is also a primary recipient 55% of the time. Additional data which is not included in Table 1 indicates that when the narrator is a child, the mother is the primary recipient 79% of the time while the father is the primary recipient 16% of the time. The data in Table 1 demonstrates the least prominent person across categories is the father.

Table 2 shows the distribution of the participants' perspective-taking for each narrative topic. Perspective-taking is either toward the narrator or toward the protagonist who is not a narrator. Perspective-taking is divided into positive (+) and evaluative (-) perspectives. Positive perspective includes agreement with the point of view or action of the narrator and/or protagonist. Evaluative perspective includes criticism, disagreement and evaluation toward the point of view.

Table 2 shows that, compared with the fathers, the mothers take a very active role in socialization and school-related topics by offering both evaluative and positive perspectives.

Table 2. The Distribution of Perspective-Taking for All Participants									
	Mother			Father			Children		
Socialization	6	(-)	N	0	---	--	0	--	--
School Related	1	(-)	N	0	--	--	1	(-)	N
	4	(+)	N						
Family Matters	4	(-)	N	7	(-)	TP	6	(-)	N
	1	(+)	TP						
Others	1	(+)	N	1	(-)	N	0	--	--
Total	17			8	(-)		7	(-)	--
	11	(-)							
	6	(+)							

N = Toward the narrator TP= Toward protagonist other than the narrator



The mothers take evaluative perspectives in six narratives about explicit socialization where the mother evaluates the narrator's (child's) action and gives the socially-accepted norm. In sum, the data shows that the mother plays a prominent role in dinnertime narratives, half of which are about children, initiated/elicited by the mother and narrated either by the mother or the children. The mother is most often the recipient of the children's narratives.

#### 4.2. Mother as a Listener and an Elicitor of Children's Narratives

As Tables 1 and 2 show, the mother is most often the recipient of the children's narratives, listening to and eliciting details of the children's experiences and providing much feedback. This result from the data is further supported by the following narrative example where the mother listens to her five-year-old son who tells a story about his school lunch. The mother frequently repeats what the son says and elicits details. The mother also comments on the internal feelings of the son.

##### (1) Chips Salad<sup>4</sup>

Mother, Male Child: Kei (5)

- L1 K: Kyoowa kabocha no ne:/ kabocha no korokke to ne:=  
[]  
2 M: Un  
3 K: =poteto chipusu no sarada yatta yo/.  
[]  
4 M: Un  
5 M: A chipusu sarada yatta/.  
6 K: Un.  
7 M: Oishikatta yaro/.  
8 K: Oishikatta kedo karakatta yo.  
9 M: Nanno kare:: no ya\  
19 K: N inya.  
11 M: Chippusu sarada/.  
12 K: N.  
13 M: Shio'n karakatta/.  
14 K: N.  
15 M: Anta mo chippusu sarada suitotto ne. Nanno  
16 ittotta/. Chippusu sarada ( ).  
17 K: Poteto chippusu to ne/ ringo to kyuri toka mo  
[] []  
18 M: Un un Un  
19 K: ippai ittotta.=  
20 M: =Ippai ittotta/. Si: chikin wa/.  
21 K: Un. Ittoran itto ran yatta.  
22 M: O: itto ran yatta/.

1 K: *Today I had a pumpkin, pumpkin croquette and*

[ ] [ ]

2 M: *Hum. Hum.*

3 K: *Potato chips salad (at my preschool).*

[ ]

- 4 M:                   *Hum.*
- 5 M:                   *Oh, it was chips salad/.*
- 6 K:                   *Yes.*
- 7 M:                   *Was it good/.*
- 8 K:                   *It was good but it was spicy.*
- 9 M:                   *What was spicy/. Was it curry that was spicy/.*
- 10 K:                  *No it was not.*
- 11 M:                  *You mean chips salad/.*
- 12 K:                  *Yes.*
- 13 M:                  *Was it salty/.*
- 14 K:                  *Yes.*
- 15 M:                  *You like chips salad, don't you/. What was in the chips salad/.*
- 17 K:                  *There were potato chips, apples and cucumbers in it.*
- [     ][     ]
- 18 M:                               *Hum, Hum Hum .*
- 19 M:                  *There were lots of them./ How about tuna fish/.*
- 20 K:                  *No. It was not, it was not included.*
- 21 M:                  *Oh, it was not included/.*

In line 1, five-year-old Kei initiates a narrative to his mother about what he ate that day at his preschool. When the son starts reporting to his mother, his speaking pace slows down, and in lines 1 and 3 he uses the sentence final particle *ne* with prolonged upward intonation. Cook (1992) proposes that *ne* directly indicates "affective common ground" and can indirectly solicit the addressee's involvement with the speaker. Consistent with Cook's findings, the particle *ne* here is used as an attention-getting device for the new topic and at the same time helps to bring Kei's mother into his narrative. While Kei is talking, the mother gives a back-channel of *um* in lines 2 and 4. She is responding to Kei's solicitation of her involvement. In line 5, the mother repeats almost verbatim what Kei has said, with rising intonation which indicates that not only is she acknowledging line 1 but she is also asking for confirmation. When the mother elicits Kei's reaction to the school lunch in line 7, he confirms his mother's question and offers new information. In line 15, the mother states the fact that Kei loves chips salad.

The son does not give a flowing narrative but instead waits until the mother elicits more information to provide new information. In this example, the mother is highly involved with Kei's narrative, accommodating her child while the child depends on the mother to construct his

narrative. The mother elicits, asks details and responds with frequent recognition back-channeling devices such as *un* and almost verbatim repetition of Kei's immediately preceding turn. The mother also provides internal reactions by commenting on the fact that Kei likes the salad in line 15. She implicitly teaches her child how to express feelings and how to empathize with others' feelings by mentioning the child's feelings toward the central event of the narrative.

#### 4.3. Explicit Socialization at Home: The Mother as an Authority

Ochs (1986) defines socialization as the display of interactionally expected ways of thinking, feeling and acting by an experienced member of the society to a novice (the child). The understanding of the social organization, social rules and moral values are to a large extent acquired through the medium of language (Ochs, 1988). Socialization may be implicit when, through the use of a particular language form, sociocultural information is covertly transmitted. The socialization referred to in this section is largely explicit, that is, of a type where the members overtly state cultural norms, preferences and expectations. In the following example, the mother teaches her children social responsibilities and ultimately the child's role in society.

##### (2) Ice Cream Vendor

Mother, male older child: Shin (7), male second child: Kei (5)

- 1 K: Chin chin aisukurii:mu ya san no sokontai ni kinoo
- 2 oinsyatta yo/.
- 3 M: =Onshyatta/. SHI:N-KUN.
- 4 K: sokono boku ( ).
- [ ]
- 5 S: Kyo Ruuji kun Ruuji kun to ne/.
- [ ]
- 6 K: Taka-chan gata no
- 7 chikaku'n toko ni onsyatta yo/.
- [ ]
- 8 M: (onsya)tta/.
- 9 K: Un.
- 10 S: Boku Ruuji kun gata ni asobi ni itta toki ni ne/,
- [ ] [ ]
- 11 M: Un Un un.
- 12 S: =chirin chirin aisu ba tabe ta yo/.
- 13 M: Dai ga koote kunsyatta/.
- 14 S: Ruuji kun to ne/ Ruuji kun no ne/ katte kureta.
- 15 M: Okane wa/.
- 16 S: A:. NANI. ( ). ((loud voice at Kei))
- 17 M: Ruuji kun. Ruu chan dai kara morain shatta/.
- 18 S: N. Ojiichan.
- 19 M: Ikura morainshatta/.
- 20 K: A::n ba:ka: ( ). ((loud voice at S))
- 21 M: Nan suttne. (( talking to both K and S to stop
- 22 their fighting.)) Katte morattari moratta toki wa
- 23 iwan ba. Okaasan ni ne/
- 24 K: Iioin syattai/.
- 25 M: Mae no koto ba iioin syattai. Sono hi ni iwan ba,
- 26 ne/. Oreiba iwan ba ma nan ken ne/.

- 1 K: *There was an ice-cream vendor around here*  
 2 *yesterday.*
- 3 M: *Was he around here/. Shi::n.*
- 4 K: *Around here, I ( ).*  
       *[                    ]*
- 5 S: *Today with Ruuji I/*  
       *[                    ]*
- 6 K: *He was near Taka's house/.*
- 7 *[                    ]*
- 8 M: *Was he there/.*
- 9 K: *Yes.*
- 10 S: *When I went to play at Ruuji's house/ I ate an ice cream=*  
       *[    ]                    [    ]*
- 11 M: *Yes                    Yes*
- 12 S: *=(from the ice cream vendor) with the ring ring bell/.*
- 13 M: *Who bought it for you/.*
- 14 S: *With Ruuji, Ruuji's ( ) bought it for me.*
- 15 M: *How about money/.*
- 16 S: *A:: WHAT. ( )*
- 17 M: *Ruuji. From whom did Ruuji get the money/.*
- 18 S: *Well, (from) grandpa.*
- 19 M: *How much did he get/.*
- 20 K: *A::n you fool. ( )*
- 21 M: *What are you doing/. When somebody buys something for you*  
 22 *or when you have received something from somebody you have*  
 23 *to tell me, OK/.*
- 24 K: *He is telling you.*

- 25 M: *He is telling me what happened before. You have to tell me*  
 26 *the same day (it happens)/ because I have to say thank you/.*

The narrative begins with the mother acknowledging the start of the story in line 3 by repeating the last part of Kei's turn. In response to Kei's utterances in lines 6 and 7, the mother again repeats the last part of Kei's turn. Then Shin takes over and reports to the mother that he went to play at his friends' house in line 11. However, the back-channeling stops after Shin reveals that he ate ice cream. In line 13, rather than being the gentle elicitor/listener, the mother takes the role of an interrogator who wants to find out who bought ice cream for her son. The two instances of the particle *ne* in line 14 suggest that Shin is still trying to convey the fun experiences of eating ice cream to his mother. However, the mother shifts from the role of the listener to the role of educator in line 13. In line 15, the mother reveals her main concern, money. The mother instructs her two sons to tell her if somebody gives them something because she must say thank you to that person. In line 25, the mother makes the point that they have to tell her the same day so that she can promptly say thank you. The three instances of the particle *ne* used in lines 23 and 26 are pedagogical *ne* which is used as a tool to teach children the society's point of view (Cook, 1992).

Lebra (1994) states that through the mother's instigation the child undergoes positional socialization when the child is exposed to life outside of the close mother-child relationship. The positional socialization inculcates "the rules of conduct vested in the position or role that the child is expected to hold in relation to others at present or future" and it is the mother who "prepares and encourages the child to reorient his or her habit by 180 degrees now that he or she is going to belong to the outer world" (1994:265).

In this narrative, instead of eliciting and giving recognition, the mother takes over the son's narrative. She takes advantage of this opportunity to teach what is expected of the sons. In addition, the mother's utterance in line 26 indicates that if she does not teach her son to do so, the mother herself may be in the precarious position of being regarded as an ungrateful person who does not say thank you for the favor her son receives. She is intent on teaching her sons a lesson partly because her own social image is at stake.

In the above two examples, we have seen that the mother contributes critically to her children's narratives, and if she sees a need, she teaches her children society's rules. The mother continues her explicit language socialization strategy even when a child is much older. Another example in the data (English Test) shows an instance of explicit socialization, similar to the above example, although the child is 14 and much older than Kei. Fourteen-year-old Isamu, a male child, would like to take a first class English competency test. He has already asked his mother to let him take the test. The mother declines saying that her son is not ready to take the test. When Isamu again asks his mother's opinion about taking the test, the mother strongly opposes the idea, giving him an example of an acquaintance's child who lost all interest in taking the English competency test after he failed the first class test many times. The mother asserts her authority by telling her son that taking a test prematurely is not only harmful to him but also not desirable from society's point of view.

It has been demonstrated that the mother is not only a warm listener/elicitor but is also the family educator who socializes children when she recognizes the need, even when the child is older and in his/her teens. The mother and child in Chips Salad co-constructed the child's narrative in the safe haven of the mother-child microcosm. The narratives of Ice Cream Vendor and English Test indicate that the mother displays authority by giving her point of view. When the mothers in the above examples notice that their children are in danger of or in fact violating societal rules, the mothers quickly instruct them, even when their children are in their teens. On the other hand, the father is rarely heard in the conversations on topics related to social norms and

school. Even when the father joins in a conversation concerning social norms, the mother is the one who clearly states the societal point of view and helps her child in the transition from the intimate world to the external world.

## V. CONCLUSION

Modern, middle class Japanese mothers are portrayed as the center of family life and as single-handedly responsible for nurturing the family, looking after the children's education, and other household matters. I have demonstrated that an analysis of the dinnertime conversations of Japanese families supports the above-mentioned social roles of the Japanese mother. In this study it has been shown that dinnertime narratives are mostly about children told by either a mother or a child: the mother plays a prominent role in those narratives with respect to the amount and quality of her contributions. In a narrative told by a child, the mother not only listens to the child's experiences with keen interest but also gives much back-channeling, and she also actively elicits details of the narrative, regardless of the age of the child. By collaborating in the telling of a narrative and sharing empathy with her child, the mother establishes a close mother-child relationship which can be aptly expressed as *amae* (to presume upon another's benevolence). The mother often talks to her children about their feelings, and by doing so, teaches the children to be empathetic to the feelings of others.

The mother also plays a prominent role in socializing her children. When the mother sees the need, she directs the conversation into a lesson in socialization. The mother socializes children by directly telling them what to do or what not to do. She teaches them social rules by bringing society into the picture. The mother is a strong authority figure in shaping the children's decision-making processes and molding the children to fit into society.

The highly involved mother's role in Japanese family narratives reveals her gentle but prominent authority within the family, and strongly reflects the social role of the Japanese mother. The study finds that, although Japanese society may be rapidly changing, the mother's traditional role as a nurturer has not changed. The authority of the Japanese middle class mother is based on an accumulated experience of daily living where she has close contact with the children as the primary caretaker and where she can become an expert in her children's lives. In sum, the social role of the middle class Japanese mother is well reflected in daily family narratives where the mother's prominence stands out as a listener/narrator and a teacher who conveys cultural norms to her children.

## NOTES

- 1 The second source of data comes from the aforementioned work of Yoneda (1993). Yoneda's data was used as a secondary source to support examples from the data I collected.
- 2 The following categories were created for this paper and do not refer to work by Ochs.
- 3 There are more narrators and primary recipients than the number of narratives since some narratives have two narrators or two primary recipients.
- 4 This family lives on the southern island of Kyushuu and speaks Saga dialect, which is one of the varieties of Kyushuu dialect.

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# ROGUE'S SCHOLAR: READING FALSTAFF'S PAGE

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## ABSTRACT

This paper presents a historically informed interpretation of the role of Falstaff's page, a character whose lines are usually cut considerably in modern performances and whose dramatic significance may be overlooked in textual analysis because of his status as a child figure and because of the relative paucity of his lines. In recovering some of the societal concerns that may have originally resonated with the character and calling attention to his persistent silent presence, I explore one possible function of a character whose re-examination might be of interest to theater historians and suggest an avenue of performative possibilities relevant to modern directors.

In his cinematic version of *Henry V*, Kenneth Branagh as Henry slogs across the muddy Agincourt battlefield carrying the corpse of a boy. The young victim, Falstaff's former page, is held up as an emblem of the terrible cost of war. The obvious irony of the moment is unsettling: God is to be praised for fighting on the side of the English, and yet all the English boys have been slaughtered.<sup>1</sup> As director, Branagh has given the slain boy the spotlight after the Agincourt victory, but he has also decisively cut most of the lines that Shakespeare has given the character, including the boy's moderately lengthy speeches at 3.2.24-45 and at 4.4.53-61. Similar truncations appear frequently in dramatic and cinematic productions of *2 Henry IV* where Falstaff's page is introduced. It is common theatrical practice to cut lines and rearrange text to speed a production along, to remove the difficulty of outdated jokes and references, and, in some cases, to adapt to the limitations of actors available to perform various roles.<sup>2</sup> Making such cuts may also be seen as part of a cultural process that both responds to and shapes societal attitudes. When the directorial knife renders a character inconsequential or merely emblematic, it is not surprising that "some elements are actually lost" (Blake 122). Despite efforts by directors to "see" an old script in fresh ways, theatrical traditions often work against serious re-examination of the dramatic uses of marginalized characters. The page boy's history of dramatic treatment as a character of little importance may be partly based on a general impression of his line count. In *2H4*, for example, the character has only twenty-nine lines. Nevertheless, the page "appears" in seven out of the play's seventeen scenes. A third of the play's lines are spoken while the boy is on stage. The boy's presence for such a large portion of the play certainly presents the possibility of a greater significance than modern productions or analyses of the play would suggest. In making this claim, I am assuming that dramatic tension and interest can be created, cultural attitudes examined, and audience expectations disrupted when the speech or behavior of performers compel attention to a silent presence.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps, in too hastily dismissing those figures with few or no lines, we overlook their potential dramatic uses. For example, the King's page in *2H4* makes a speedy exit at the beginning of Act 3, scene 1 after the King utters a three-line command for the boy to depart in haste with letters for the Earls of Warwick and Surrey. This brief appearance of an obedient, quiet royal page is arguably an important counterpoint to the role of Falstaff's page.<sup>4</sup> The order for the page to deliver letters mirrors a similar order given by Falstaff to his page in the previous act. A page serving in the royal household could look forward to social advancement of the sort that Geoffrey Chaucer enjoyed. But, Falstaff's page has been placed among rogues. The question of whether the boy will survive the corrupting influences of the adult rogues with whom he appears is expressed in Bardolph's dark-humored jest to Falstaff and his companions: "An you do not make him hang'd among you, the gallows shall have wrong" (*2H4* 2.2.96-97). The sight of the boy associating with scoundrels and knaves for much of *2H4* does not suggest a future of social advancement for him. From his first appearance, Falstaff's page prompted dramatic tension associated with societal concerns regarding youth and vagrancy.



The problem of youthful vagrancy was an enormous concern during the time the *Henriad* was composed and first performed. According to A. L. Beier, the little evidence that exists regarding the ages of vagrants "suggests that youth predominated." For example, over half of those incarcerated in London's Bridewell correctional facility in 1602 were under 16 years old (54). Bridewell, which was established in 1553, not only provided work and punitive correction for "sturdy vagabonds" but also served "to train up the beggar's child in virtuous exercise, that of him should spring no more beggars" (qtd. in Pinchbeck and Hewitt 132-133). The successive poor laws of sixteenth century England suggest a growing concern for youth at risk. While "the first poor law of 1531 made no mention of children," the Act of 1536 recognized the societal benefits to be gained from seeking to rescue from a future of vagrancy and crime those children who might otherwise grow up knowing no other way of life (Pinchbeck and Hewitt 94-95). The Acts of 1572 and 1576 were both attempts to deal with issues surrounding vagrant children. "Until 1597," as Beier observes, offenders "aged from 5 to 14 were usually to be placed in service, although a statute of 1572 ordered them stocked and whipped. Those over 14 were to be gaoled, whipped, and burnt through the ear."<sup>5</sup> At about the time that Shakespeare was composing *2H4*, the English enacted, after many years of concern and experimentation, a comprehensive poor law that sought to provide a systematic response to early modern children at risk (Pinchbeck and Hewitt 138), a group that constituted a "problem of huge proportions" (Beier 10).

The precarious nature of the page's situation is introduced in *2H4* almost from the moment the page enters in the second scene of Act One. At the boy's initial appearance, Falstaff describes him as a lone piglet following along behind his large mother who has "overwhelmed" the rest of her offspring. While the scene has been played for the physical comedy which may arise from the casting of a particularly small boy behind whom the bulky Falstaff may try to hide, audience awareness that pigs occasionally devour their young might lend an even more grotesque coloring to the monstrous shadow looming above the lad. Some members of an Elizabethan audience might have caught in the pig imagery an allusion to the Vice figure of morality interludes with whom Falstaff has often been associated. In Richard Wever's *Lusty Juventus*, a mid-sixteenth century interlude with a prodigal son theme, Satan's offspring Hypocrisie apologizes for comparing his "father's voice unto a sow's groaning" (16). If there is dramatic tension associated with youth tempted by vice in the *Henriad*, it does not reside in the prodigal figure of Prince Hal, in part because he is a historical personage whose fate is well known.<sup>6</sup> Falstaff's page does, however, seem to provide such a focal point for audience suspense. In a few brief examples, I will illustrate how tension over what will become of the youth is maintained throughout his "stage life" from *2H4* to *H5*.<sup>7</sup>

During the page's first scene in *2H4*, where he enters with a urinalysis report from Sir John's doctor, several elements combine to situate the character in an insecure socioeconomic environment as a virtual apprentice to roguery. First are the specific references to Falstaff's lack of funds. Asked what the cloth merchant has told him about Falstaff's request for satin cloth, the boy informs his master that the man "liked not the security" (*2H4* 1.2.24-25), meaning that he doubted Falstaff's ability to pay. When Falstaff asks the boy at the end of the scene, "What money is in my purse?", the boy's response, "Seven groats and twopence," reveals just how desperate Falstaff's fortunes are. Falstaff aptly describes the state of his purse as "consumptive." Its contents have been consumed, perhaps coughed up in fits of riotous spending. While the boy engages in some brief banter with Falstaff at the beginning of this scene and answers several questions put to him, for the most part he is a silent observer of an exchange between Falstaff and the Lord Chief Justice, who at first sends his servant ahead of him to accost Sir John. Besides the topics of beggary and poverty, youth itself is a recurrent subject throughout the scene. When the servant addresses Falstaff—"Sir John!"—Falstaff replies, "What? a young knave and begging? is there not wars? is there not employment? doth not the King lack subjects? do not the rebels need soldiers?" (1.2.71-76). In pretending to mistake the Justice's servant for a beggar, Falstaff alludes to the problem of youthful vagrancy while performing an act of dissembling for which rogues and beggars were noted. His reply also foreshadows the dramatic destination of the page in *H5*, namely the battlegrounds of

France. The problem of masterless men roaming the countryside is linked to military service in Shakespeare's day. Beier claims that "no occupational groups increased as much as sailors and soldiers among vagrants from 1560 to 1640" (93). Not only were released military men likely to become vagrants, but soldiers were mainly "recruited from the poor and criminal classes" (94). Falstaff's speech here effectively suggests several of the themes woven through the stage life of his young page.

During the lengthy dialogue between the Justice and Falstaff, the two younger actors (the servant and page) watch and, presumably, learn. Ultimately, Falstaff's audacious request of a thousand pounds "to furnish . . . [him] forth" drives the indignant Justice from the stage. Unabashed, Falstaff turns to the page with instructions to deliver several letters designed to con money from the wealthy. Although he laments the diseased state of himself and his finances, Falstaff tells the boy, "A good wit will make use of anything: I will turn diseases to commodity" (194-195). Here endeth the boy's first lesson in roguery. Falstaff's disease metaphor resonates powerfully with period comments on the way that beggars trained their children to counterfeit disease and disfigurement. Unfortunately, there are also horrific accounts of children who were considered too young to master the "histrionics of disfigurement" and who were therefore mangled and broken by their parents "to achieve the same status as the counterfeits" (Carroll 49). The page-boy, however, is a fit pupil.

In his next scene (2.1), the boy appears in the unwholesome setting of a tavern frequented by whores and their clientele, where he intervenes during a brawl between Falstaff and Mistress Quickly to shout, "Away, you scullian, you rampallian, you fustillarian! I'll tickle your catastrophe!" It is the boy's only line in the scene but its tang of roguish cant sufficiently indicates how his education is progressing under the tutelage of Sir John.<sup>8</sup>

In the following scene, Falstaff's metaphor of the commodification of disease shifts into a trope that emphasizes the boy's commodification of Falstaff's teaching. When the boy enters with Bardolph in Act 2, scene 2, Prince Hal, who has been chatting with his crony Poin, immediately notes a striking change in him, exclaiming, "And the boy that I gave Falstaff: 'a had him from me Christian, and look if the fat villain have not transformed him ape" (2.2.53-54).<sup>9</sup> When the page offers a clever rejoinder laced with references to alehouses and prostitutes, the prince jokes, "Has not the boy profited?" (64). The prince's ironic observation on the profits of Falstaff's teaching is echoed by the boy himself in *H5*, where he presents in a moderately lengthy monologue a jaded perspective on his "teachers" Bardolph, Nym, and Pistol, whom he finally recognizes as "sworn brothers in filching" (*H5* 3.3.38). Thus, the boy's initial exposure to Falstaff causes one transformation, and the boy's later experiences provoke another, a moral turning that echoes the prodigal pattern that informs both parts of *H4*.

As many critics have noted, Prince Hal is a prodigal figure who eventually rejects Falstaff and the other bad influences of his "wilder days." His harsh treatment of Falstaff creates a moment whose painfulness to audiences is heightened by their appreciation of the load of laughter Falstaff's character has supplied them. Few eyes turn to examine the state of the page at this juncture. Yet there is good reason to question Hal's treatment of the page. Shakespeare twice calls our attention in *2H4* to the circumstance by which the page came into Falstaff's service—in the lines spoken by Falstaff upon the boy's introduction in 1.2 and in 2.2 as noted above. In the first instance, there is some ambiguity about whose service the boy is in. When the boy uses his wit at Falstaff's expense, Falstaff threatens to send the boy back to "the juvenal prince . . . [the boy's] master" (14-15). In scene 2 of the following act, however, when he pays Bardolph and the page to keep mum about his presence in town, Prince Hal says to them, "no word to your master," meaning Falstaff (123).

Despite some minor ambiguity expressed by Falstaff, Hal's assertion that he has given Falstaff the boy (253-54) establishes a clear link between Hal and the page that is subtly

underscored elsewhere. In Act 4, scene 2 of *2H4*, at the mention of Poins's name, Hal's royal father ruminates on his wayward son, "Most subject is the fattest soil to weeds,/ and he, the noble image of my youth,/ is overspread with them" (4.2.54-56). The blighted garden image echoes a joke that Poins has earlier made about the page, "O that this blossom could be kept from cankers!" (2.2.71). Just before Hal uproots himself from his weedlike companions, he transplants into their earthy ground a young shoot in the form of the page. Within the world of the play no reasons emerge for the prince's action, and we are given no further information about the boy's origins. We are, however, frequently directed to consider the ends to which his roguish education will lead. This thematic concern links the boy via the prodigal figure Hal with the figures of youth at risk in earlier morality drama. Shakespeare has replaced the simple didactic structure of the morality play with a situation far more complex. Does the play raise the issue of the accountability of those who place children into the service of others? If so, by only tracing the boy's history for us as far back as his service to the prince, what questions are being raised about the prince's responsibilities at that moment and perhaps later when he is king and Falstaff has died? Is there any indication that Hal offers the page the sanctuary of royal service again when the boy is left without his master?

At the close of *2H4*, Falstaff and "all his company" (5.5.93) are led to prison. It is not uncommon for directors and critics alike to assume that Falstaff's page is somehow exempt from arrest, as Krupski does:

The Page-Boy is a wordless witness to these proceedings. In the time gap between them and his reappearance, still as Falstaff's servant in the first scene of Act 2 in *Henry V*, we must surmise that he was on his own until, by means unknown to us, Falstaff and Co. were released from prison and restored to the freedom of the London streets. (137)

As I have already pointed out, however, the house of correction seems to have been particularly designed to reform youth so that, as the Act of 1576 declared, they would "be accustomed and brought up in labour and work, and . . . not . . . grow to be idle rogues" (qtd. in Beier 165). Thus, the most logical theatrical interpretation of the end of *2H4* would reveal the boy being taken with the adults to prison. Such staging might reveal some early modern concerns about the actual effects of imprisonment. In Middleton's play *Your Five Gallants*, the character Bungler, speaking about time spent in Bridewell prison, claims "'a will learn more knavery there in one week than will furnish him and his heirs for a hundred year'" (3.5.138-139), a sentiment which ought to sound quite familiar to us today. The moment of Falstaff's incarceration is a crucial one for the page character. There is nothing in *2H4* to indicate that the boy avoids a trip to jail. His first appearance in *H5* does not suggest that he has ever been separated from Falstaff and his companions. Although there is no discussion by these roguish elements of their recent imprisonment, the play seems to hold up the penal institution for a measure of critique. The rogues who appear before us in *H5* seem in no way to have been "corrected." Thus, the end of *2H4* presents the audience with an image of a "reformed" figure assuming the powers of the state, casting off his former companions, and eschewing personal involvement with them in favor of a new reliance on an official state institution of correction. Hal is apparently ignorant or indifferent to the function of prison as a breeding ground for criminals rather than a reformatory. It is at this moment, when the different stations of the former prodigal Hal and the youth at risk page are most evident, that the dramatic tensions connecting the two might be powerfully realized in performance. The main focus of the scene will always be the exchange between Hal and Falstaff. But Falstaff's language as he addresses the new king as "most royal imp of fame" and "my sweet boy" may call to mind a potentially important silent presence who is still appropriately called "boy."

At Falstaff's death in *H5*, his page becomes a masterless boy and ventures with Bardolph, Nym, and Pistol to France, as Pistol says, "to suck, to suck, the very blood to suck" (2.3.43-44), indicating that there are profits to be taken by those not shy of knavery. Just as the boy's movement into full-fledged roguery seems complete, however, he has an epiphany regarding his leechlike companions and reflects on his place among such unsavory types. The following speech is often cut in

performance, along with most of the boy's other lines. His first sentence suggests what he has been doing during his many on-stage silences—scrupulously taking note.

As young as I am, I have observed these three swashers. I am boy to them all three, all they three, though they would serve me, could not be man to me, for indeed three such antics do not amount to a man. For Bardolph, he is white-livered and red-faced, by the means whereof a faces it out but fights not. For Pistol, he hath a killing tongue and a quiet sword, by the means whereof a breaks words and keeps whole weapons. For Nym, he hath heard that men of few words are the best men, and therefore he scorns to say his prayers lest a should be thought a coward, but his few bad words are matched with as few good deeds, for a never broke any man's head but his own, and that was against a post when he was drunk. They will steal anything and call it purchase. Bardolph stole a lute-case, bore it twelve leagues and sold it for three halfpence. Nym and Bardolph are sworn brothers in filching, and in Calais they stole a fire-shovel. I knew by that piece of service the men would carry coals. They would have me as familiar with men's pockets as their gloves or their handkerchiefs, which makes much against my manhood if I should take from another's pocket to put into mine, for it is plain pocketing up of wrongs. I must leave them and seek some better service. Their villainy goes against my weak stomach, and therefore I must cast it up. (*H5* 3.2.24-45)

Although the boy has discovered that sucking the blood of France is not to his taste, there is no hotline for troubled youth amid the "vasty fields of France." When he next appears, doing able service as an interpreter of French, he aids Pistol in his efforts to extort ransom from a captured Frenchman. In his final monologue, the boy reveals that Bardolph and Nym "are hanged" and hints that he himself may be perilously near his doom. In a short time, Falstaff's former page is killed when the French commit a serious breach of the rules of war by going behind the lines to attack the defenseless boys left to watch over the English baggage.

Citing a number of post-W.W.II productions in his introduction to the Cambridge edition of *H5*, Andrew Gurr suggests that, from the 1950's when "it became standard to show the Eastcheap Boy being killed by French soldiers on stage" to Branagh's 1989 film, the figure of the dead child has been highlighted on stage and screen as a means of underscoring "Henry's ambivalence and sensitivity to the horrors of war" (54). It seems both appropriate and ironic to have the king confront the dead body of the page. The vision of Branagh carrying the dead page may well be a comment on Henry's feelings about war, but the boy need not be simply an emblem of innocence cut down. The page and Henry have a history with important societal implications. We might consider King Henry as an emblem of privilege, of state power and control, and the boy as simply a boy struggling against the vagaries of a society that might better serve its youth. It is no surprise that Burgundy's appeal for social healing at the end of *H5*, which also adopts the blighted garden motif associated with Hal and the page, culminates in an appeal to consider the nation's youth:

And as our vineyards, fallows, meads and hedges,  
Defective in their natures, grow to wildness,  
Even so our houses, and ourselves, and children  
Have lost, or do not learn for want of time  
The sciences that should become our country,  
But grow like savages, as soldiers will  
That nothing do but meditate on blood,  
To swearing and stern looks, diffused attire,  
And everything that seems unnatural. (5.2.54-62)

Of course, Burgundy is talking about a country that has now been "properly" reunited through violent efforts. His speech, by refusing to exempt the victorious soldier from criticism, forces even the king to confront his recent behavior. Just as the prodigal Hal's reformation at the end of *2H4* does not indicate that the character has achieved the pinnacle of wisdom, his victory at Agincourt, as the Chorus so pointedly reminds us at the close of *H5*, does not indicate that he and England have forever thwarted the unpleasant twists of Fortune, which "made his sword/ By which the world's best garden he achieved" (5.3.6-7). Henry's achievement is tempered by our sense of its historical effervescence. Just as Henry's stirring rhetoric of glory in battle may seem hollow in

retrospect, his placement of the boy into Falstaff's care, though providing dramatic moments of both humor and pathos, takes on a more complex hue by the time the boy is dead. Hal's placement of the sometimes witty, sometimes wise, often silent and yet very present, character of Falstaff's page focuses attention on the state's relationship to early modern youth at risk.

## NOTES

- 1 Another layer of irony may be created out of the realization that it was Prince Hal who gave the boy in service to Falstaff and who has had no contact with the page character since seeing Falstaff and his companions sent to prison at the end of *2 Henry IV*.
- 2 As Ann Blake has observed about the continuing practice in our time of cutting lines for children in Shakespeare's plays, "it may be partly attributed to the difficulty the actors have in speaking Shakespeare's verse" ("Shakespeare's Roles" 133).
- 3 My contention that a character does not have to be speaking to maintain a powerful presence on stage and to engage dramatically with discursive matrices formed by both speaking and silent characters and by the social affections and anxieties circulating among an audience is a logical extension of Philip McGuire's convincing argument that the silence of characters present on stage at the conclusion of many plays unsettles the possibilities of dramatic closure.
- 4 For a discussion of the positions for children in medieval aristocratic households, see Nicholas Orme. *From Childhood to Chivalry*. London and New York: Methuen, 1984.
- 5 The 1597 Act for the Relief of the Poor, which, among other progressive moves, exempted those under seven years old from prosecution, held a foundational position in English law until the early nineteenth century.
- 6 It seems to me that the age and size of the boy might also have stimulated audience affection and concern in ways that Prince Hal's figure would not. Hal is no longer a child, even by Elizabethan standards; he is a young man on the brink of assuming the throne, which the historical Hal did at age 26. The page, whose diminutive size is the subject of commentary, clearly is much younger, although in modern productions casting for the role has ranged from the pre-adolescent (as in Welles's *Falstaff: Chimes at Midnight*) to the late adolescent (as in Bogdanov and Pennington's English Shakespeare Company film of 1989).
- 7 Because the world of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, where Falstaff has a page named Robin, is a safer, more stable place whose youth generates more affection than societal anxiety and because there is little in that comic "by-product of the English history plays" (Craik intro. 11) which focuses attention on the boy's precarious socioeconomic state, I will not be examining the page in the context of that play.
- 8 One of the intriguing features of the page is the variety of expression given to the character. The boy's speech seems to shift according to his environment. In the tavern, the boy's speech is rather rude and sassy. In France, he has a better working knowledge of French than his nominal master Pistol. In his monologues the tone is strikingly without roguish qualities. Although these variable linguistic registers might be dismissed as authorial inconsistencies, they might illustrate the child's proverbially impressionable nature and further underscore the character's struggle with his environmental influences.
- 9 The prince's observations in this scene on the boy's dress and performance suggest a thread that I do not have time to pursue at length here. As William Carroll has noted, "Every rogue book from Copland on attributes superlative histrionic powers to the sturdy beggar," (42) and it was a commonplace that beggarly parents instructed their children in the dissembling arts (50). It is the shape-shifting ability of the sturdy beggar that generates some of the anxiety revolving around vagabondage. Antitheatrical tracts and sermons of the day illuminate the link between theater and the corruption of youth. Besides their warnings of the detrimental moral and political infection to which patrons were exposed in the generally unhealthy playhouse environment, antitheatrical writers often commented

on the dangers of youth taking the stage. The attitude expressed by William Crashawe in a sermon he preached in 1607 is typical of these age-related anxieties: "hee that teacheth children to play, is not an instructor, but a spoiler and destroyer of children" (170). The way that the character of Falstaff's page illustrates youth at risk while at the same time reflecting the ability of the youth's conscience to discern the morally compromising nature of his surroundings and teachers effectively works against the criticism of theater as a destroyer of children.

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# THE EFFECTS OF DISCOURSE CONTEXT ON CHILDREN'S INTERPRETATIONS OF JAPANESE NON-CANONICAL SENTENCES

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## ABSTRACT

The effects of discourse context (Otsu, 1994) on children's comprehension of Japanese non-canonical sentences—scrambling and passives—were examined in order to investigate whether the poor performance reported in a number of previous studies could be attributed to performance factors or a lack of linguistic competence. Twenty-five Japanese preschool children were tested on the comprehension of non-canonical sentences with and without discourse context. The results indicate significant effects of context only for XSV active. Although this suggests the lack of passive knowledge in child grammar, there is also a possibility that the discourse context does not reduce performance factors involved in passive comprehension. Early production of passives supports this observation, and the plausible bias of context favoring patient-agent interpretation makes it difficult to capture what the role of the context is.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This paper investigates the effects of discourse context on children's interpretations of Japanese non-canonical sentences: scrambling and direct passive. Otsu (1994) suggested that children's poor comprehension of Japanese scrambling reported in a number of previous studies (e.g., Hayashibe 1975; Sano 1977; Hakuta 1982) was due to performance factors. By supplying discourse context, Otsu demonstrated that young children could correctly interpret scrambled sentences. Yet, as Otsu tested only scrambled sentences, it is not known how the discourse context he adopted in his study would affect children's comprehension of other non-canonical sentences of Japanese. The experiment reported in this paper examines, in light of Otsu's study, children's comprehension of both passive and active sentences, in two different word orders.

## 2. A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF JAPANESE SENTENCE STRUCTURES

The canonical word order of Japanese is SXV (X = non-subject) where grammatical relations are indicated by case particles. In the following (1), the first NP is subject marked by the nominative case particle *ga*, and the second NP is direct object marked by the accusative *o*, followed by a transitive verb.

- (1) *Inu ga neko o tataki-masi-ta* (agent-patient)  
dog nom cat acc hit-Pol-Past  
'A dog hit a cat.'

As this sentence is active voice, the first NP bears an agent role, and the second NP a patient role. (The order of the thematic roles in the sentences is shown in parentheses.)

The departure from the canonical pattern is observed in the following scrambled sentence (2), and direct passives (3) - (4).<sup>1</sup>

- (2) *Neko o inu ga tataki-masi-ta* (patient-agent)  
cat acc dog nom hit-Pol-Past  
'A dog hit a cat.'
- (3) *Neko ga inu ni tatak-are-masi-ta* (patient-agent)  
cat nom dog-by hit-Pass-Pol-Past  
'A cat was hit by a dog.'
- (4) *Inu ni neko ga tatak-are-masi-ta* (agent-patient)

dog-by cat nom hit-Pass-Pol-Past  
 'A cat was hit by a dog.'

Japanese allows relatively free word order. The scrambled sentence (2) departs from the canonical SXV in that subject and direct object are inverted as XSV where the thematic roles mapped onto them are patient and agent, respectively. Sentence (3) is the passivized sentence of (1). The Japanese passive is indicated by the passive morpheme *-(r)are* attached to the verb, and a 'by-phrase' marked by oblique *ni*. While (3) follows the canonical word order SXV, the thematic roles are manifested as a patient-agent order. Finally, sentence (4) is the scrambled version of (3), where the sentence initial 'by-phrase' bears an agent role followed by a patient-denoting subject. All sentences above denote the same event, but (2) departs from the canonical sentence in word order, (3) in voice, and (4) in both word order and voice.

### 3. PREVIOUS STUDIES

Sentence comprehension strategies are established based on the thematic roles mapped onto the canonical pattern of one's native language (Bever 1970), and these strategies greatly affect children's interpretation of non-canonical sentences (e.g., Slobin and Bever 1982). Thus, the difficulties in understanding non-canonical patterns are likely to override children's syntactic knowledge.<sup>2</sup>

Otsu's innovation (1994, p. 256) on the testing of scrambled sentences was to provide a discourse context such as (5) for the experimental sentence (6).

- (5) *Koon ni ahiru-san ga i-masi-ta*  
 part in duck nomis-Pol-Past  
 'There was a duck in a park.'
- (6) *Sono ahiru-san o kame-san ga osi-masi-ta*  
 the duck accturtle nompush-Pol-Past  
 'The turtle pushed the duck.'

Otsu believes that a scrambled sentence causes processing problems for young children when it is given in isolation. He posits that the scrambled sentence like (6) sounds unnatural without a discourse context. As the discourse context sentence (5) functions as a bridge for the following scrambled sentence (6), the combination of (5) and (6) offers a more natural environment where children can demonstrate their syntactic knowledge. Otherwise, children may simply be dependent on the sentence comprehension strategy (i.e., agent-patient interpretation). Otsu tested 3- and 4-year-old children who were divided into two groups: the control group was tested without context, and the experimental group tested with discourse context. The results show a remarkable number of correct responses from the experimental group (approximately 90% correct) as opposed to below chance performance by the control group.

Following Otsu (1994), Kim, O'Grady, and Cho (1995) conducted the same type of experiment on Korean-speaking children aged 2 to 8 for the comprehension of both SXV and XSV active sentences. The results of their picture-identification task were basically consistent with Otsu's study<sup>3</sup>, which suggested that children benefited from discourse context for the interpretation of scrambling (the overall correct percentage on the XSV active with context is 71.7%, as opposed to 48.9% without context). On the other hand, their results also revealed that the discourse context did not help certain age groups (ages 3, 4, and 8) to understand SXV active sentences. For example, 4-year-olds were correct on SXV active sentences only 44.5% with context, in contrast with 64% correct without context. From the results, Kim et al. suggest that the discourse context might bias against SXV active, whereas it seems to help children's understanding of scrambled sentences.



#### 4. THE STUDY

In the present study, I examine Japanese-speaking children's comprehension of passive and active sentences with and without discourse context. If the type of discourse context adopted in the previous studies helps children demonstrate their syntactic knowledge of non-canonical sentences, children would also be expected to perform better on passives with context than on those without context. If, on the other hand, this is not the case, there would be two plausible factors: 1) deficiency of the syntactic knowledge of passive, or 2) inappropriateness of the discourse context for passives. The other issue, directly related to these, is the role of discourse context. Otsu's position regarding discourse context is that it makes the scrambled sentences more natural. If this is the reason for children's improvement on the interpretation of XSV active, then the discourse context should also help children to understand scrambled versions of passive sentences (i.e., XSV passive), at least for those who can correctly interpret SXV passives. In order to examine these possibilities, the following experiment was carried out.

*Subjects:* The subjects were twenty-five preschool children (17 males and 8 females) whose ages ranged from 4;2 to 6;11 (mean age = 5;4). All subjects were short-term visitors to Honolulu, and had no exposure to languages other than Japanese. There were nine 4-year-olds, seven 5-year-olds, and nine 6-year-olds.

*Materials & Procedure:* This study used a picture-identification task where the children were asked to point at a picture, out of two choices, to demonstrate the meaning of experimental sentences describing certain agent-patient relationships between two animals. Two types of word-order were tested both for active and passive voice: SXV active, XSV active, SXV passive, and XSV passive. Among six tokens for each sentence pattern, half were provided with discourse context, and the other half were not. The discourse context contained information about the NP used as the first NP of the following stimulus sentence (Appendix). All stimulus sentences involved reversible verbs randomly selected from *osu* 'push', *naderu* 'pat', *oikakeru* 'chase', and *kamu* 'bite'. An experimenter read aloud each sentence at normal speed while showing a set of pictures. Stimulus sentences were randomly ordered. The first 12 sentences were presented without context, followed by another 12 sentences with context. No picture was used for a context sentence.<sup>4</sup> For the purpose of the children's familiarization with the testing procedure, a brief practice session was also conducted using sentences containing intransitive verbs. Each subject was tested individually, and the entire session for each subject lasted about 15 minutes.

*Results:* The overall results are summarized in Table 1. These results show a tendency for the subjects to perform better on active than passive, and on sentences provided with discourse context than those without context. According to the three age groups, Figures 1 and 2 show the percentage of correct responses for active and passive sentences, respectively.

Table 1. Overall correct responses on each sentence pattern

	Without Context			With Context		
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>%</u>
Active SXV	2.60	.668	86.7	2.60	.693	86.7
Active XSV	1.76	.814	58.7	2.52	.640	84.0
Passive SXV	1.96	.916	65.3	2.00	.938	66.7
Passive XSV	1.56	.941	52.0	1.80	.894	60.0

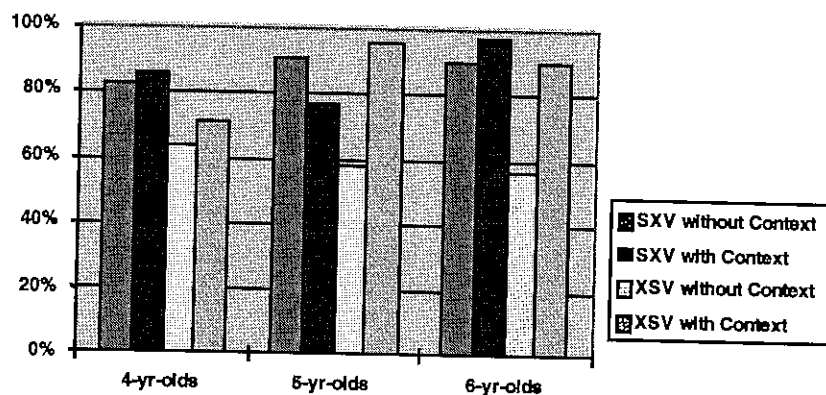


Figure 1. Group performance on active sentences

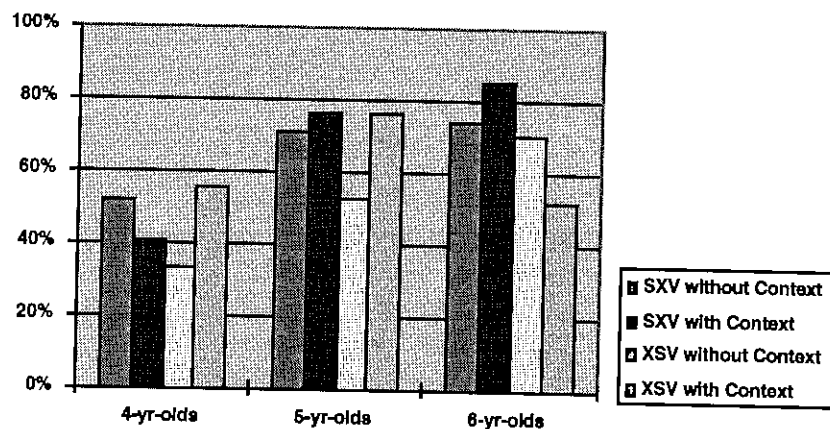


Figure 2. Group performance on passive sentences

Figure 1 indicates that when context was not provided, SXV was more correctly interpreted than XSV at any age group, and there seems to be little change with age in the children's understanding of both SXV and XSV word order. On the other hand, given discourse context, the children's overall performance on XSV reaches 84% correct as opposed to 58.7% for the same pattern without context. The effect of discourse context on the XSV active is significant at age 5 ( $t = 2.190$ ,  $p < .05$ )<sup>5</sup> and at age 6 ( $t = 2.636$ ,  $p < .05$ ). For the canonical SXV active, however, an unexpected result was observed at the group of age 5 where the correct response of SXV with context was 76.2% as opposed to 90.5% for SXV without context. A close examination on the individual scores revealed that this was mainly due to one subject (age = 5;1) who interpreted SXV correctly without context, but made errors on all SXV sentences with context. It should be noted that two 4-year-old children also performed better on SXV active without context, rather than with context, although their performance does not reflect the overall correct percentage of their group.

With regard to the comprehension of passives, the percent correct on SXV is just above 70% even by five-year-olds. When context was not provided, the children's performance on SXV was better than XSV at any age group, and the correct responses for both patterns increased with age. The increasing control of passives between the groups of four-year-olds and five-year-olds was particularly remarkable: a 35.5% increase was observed for SXV with context. Although the effects

of discourse context were not statistically significant for any passive pattern, there seems to be increasing control on XSV with context between the four-year-olds and five-year-olds (a more than 20% increase). On the contrary, the group of six-year-olds performed worse on XSV with context (51.9%) than without context (70.4%), and this group performed far better on SXV than XSV when context was provided ( $t = 2.258, p < .05$ ).

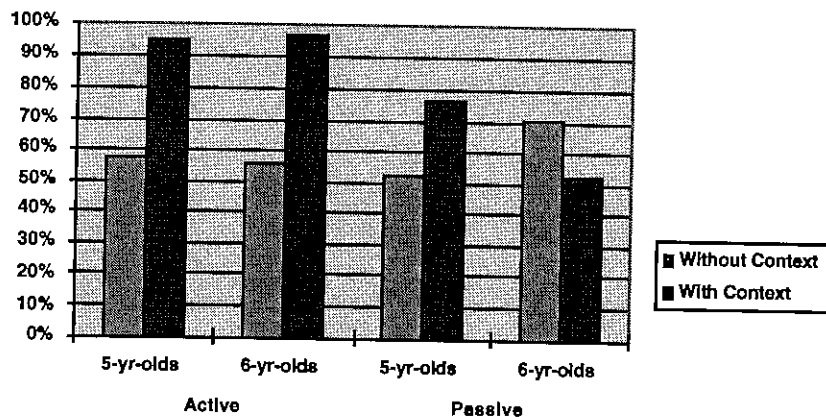
## 5. DISCUSSION

An account of the results on active sentences is quite straightforward. As expected, children demonstrated their ability to handle canonical sentences from an early age regardless of the presence/absence of discourse context, whereas even 6-year-olds had a hard time in understanding scrambled sentences without context. However, when context was given, the children's poor performance on XSV was remarkably improved. These results are roughly consistent with Otsu (1994) and Kim et al. (1995), which seem to support the claim that processing constraints override children's linguistic competence. However, this does not necessarily mean that discourse context plays a role in disclosing a child's true syntactic knowledge of scrambling, a point I will return to later.

The results of comprehension of passive sentences show that children reach about 70% correct on SXV passives around the age of 5, yet the difference in their performance between active and passive sentences is apparent. The remarkable increase in correctness, both on SXV and XSV between the four- and five-year-old groups, suggests that children around these ages become capable of dealing with passives, at least in experimental conditions. The role of discourse context on passives is rather unclear. As Figure 2 indicates, unlike the case of active sentences, children do not always take advantage of the discourse context. Thus, it is likely that discourse context works only for the correct interpretation of scrambled active sentences.

I raised two questions for this experiment: one concerned the role of discourse context, and the other addressed children's linguistic competence on passives. Regarding the first point, Kim et al. (1995) suggest the possibility that the type of discourse context used in the study may favor patient-agent interpretation. This is supported by the fact that the 4-year-old subjects in their study often interpreted the canonical SXV as if it were XSV active when discourse context was provided. In my study, there were also some children (two 4-year-olds and one 5-year-old) who misinterpreted SXV active, possibly due to the discourse context. However, if discourse context biased the patient-agent interpretation, children would also have benefited from it in the interpretation of SXV passives, but this was not the case at least for 4-year-olds. Moreover, the results of XSV passives show that 4- and 5-year-olds performed better on this type with context, but XSV passives in fact have agent-patient thematic roles. Therefore, it is not clear whether the discourse context biases the patient-agent interpretation, although this possibility cannot completely be denied.

We recall that Otsu's original position about context was that it makes scrambled sentences as natural as possible in an experimental situation. If this is correct, it is expected that children who can handle SXV passives would have benefited from the discourse context for the interpretation of a scrambled (XSV) passive. Figure 3 contrasts children's performance between XSV active and XSV passive. Although the five- and six-year-old groups reach approximately 70% correct on SXV passive, their performance on XSV passive with context was inconclusive (a 23.8% increase at age 5, but an 18.5% decrease at age 6 on passives).



**Figure 3. Performance on XSV sentences**

Moreover, individual data for 6-year-olds indicate that more than half of them scored worse on XSV passives with context as compared to those without context. Therefore, these data do not suggest that the discourse context simply reveals the children's linguistic competence dealing with XSV word-order.

Admittedly, however, the crucial difference between XSV passive and XSV active sentences lies in voice, and this makes the non-canonicity involved in these constructions more complex.<sup>6</sup> Although scrambled active and SXV passive sentences both depart from the canonical pattern of Japanese in that they exhibit a patient-agent order, the similarity is only a surface one. The scrambled active departs from the norm only in terms of how grammatical relations are linearized, whereas the SXV passive departs from the norm in terms of how thematic roles are mapped onto grammatical relations. Moreover, XSV passives involve a double departure, one of which is found in XSV actives, and the other of which occurs in SXV passives. Considering these syntactic differences among non-canonical sentences, it may not be unreasonable that the context does not work for passives. However, the evaluation of discourse context remains for further investigation.

The remaining question is whether linguistic competence of passives is available in young children. While the discourse context did not work for passives, the children performed differently on each type of non-canonical sentence. Their sensitivity suggests that another processing constraint, which cannot be excluded by the discourse context, may be involved in experimental situations, and it may impede children's access to their syntactic knowledge. Supporting data have been obtained in my current studies in process<sup>7</sup>, but there is space here only for the existing evidence that young children do produce passive sentences. Through the analysis of the spontaneous speech of English-speaking children, Snyder and Stromswold (1997) observed passive sentences as early as 1;9 in the speech sample of 12 children. Pinker et al. (1987) report English children's productivity of passivization by using novel verbs. In the case of Japanese, the passive morpheme *-(r)are* is found in the corpus of Okubo (1967, p. 119) where a child started using it at 2;5. These studies support the position that passives are certainly part of young children's grammar, but their comprehension ability may not necessarily be demonstrated in experimental situations.

In this paper, I reported on the effects of discourse context for children's comprehension of Japanese non-canonical sentences. Consistent with Otsu (1994), the results of my experiment suggest that children benefit from the discourse context for the interpretation of scrambled active sentences. However, the same effects were not observed for passive sentences. While the role of discourse context is not clear, considering the different types of non-canonicity involved in scrambling and

passives, another type of aid may be needed for children to demonstrate their knowledge of passives.

#### NOTES

- 1 Structurally, Japanese has two types of passives: the direct passive discussed in this study and the indirect passive which has no active counterpart and which often has an adversative meaning. The latter type of passive is not considered in this study.
- 2 In this paper, I use the terms syntactic knowledge and linguistic competence interchangeably. They refer to the widely accepted notion of domain-specific knowledge of language with which human beings are endowed. This nativist position posits that syntactic knowledge must exist from the very beginning of language acquisition, but this does not necessarily mean that it is accessible at the initial state. For example, the maturational hypothesis (e.g., Borer & Wexler 1987; Radford 1990) claims that language knowledge is biologically determined to become available at a certain point in time.
- 3 Otsu (1994) used an act-out task where children were asked to demonstrate the meaning of stimulus sentences by manipulating toy animals. The better performance in Otsu's study than in that of Kim et al. might have been caused by the methodological differences between the two studies, although it is controversial which method better measures children's linguistic competence (see for example, Cocking & McHale 1981).
- 4 Although Kim et al. (1995) adopted a picture-identification task, different from the present study, they used a picture for the context sentence as well.
- 5 A two-tailed *t*-test is applied throughout this study.
- 6 Observations presented here are largely based on personal comments by William O'Grady on an earlier version of this paper submitted for Linguistics 750Q in Fall 1995 at the University of Hawai'i.
- 7 Currently, I am investigating children's comprehension of Japanese passives in relation to perspective-taking ability in an experimental situation. So far, the results suggest that perspective-taking difficulties mask children's true competence on passives, and that even 6-year-olds may not yet have attained the full perspective-taking ability required for comprehension of passives.

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## APPENDIX

Some examples of sentences without context

1. *Inu ga neko o osi-masi-ta.*(SXV active)  
'A dog pushed a cat.'
2. *Inu o tora ga kami-masi-ta.*(XSV active)  
'A tiger bit a dog.'
3. *Usagi ga saru ni oikake-rare-masi-ta.*(SXV passive)  
'A rabbit was chased by a monkey.'
4. *Neko ni buta ga os-are-masi-ta.* (XSV passive)  
'A pig was pushed by a cat.'

Some examples of sentences with context

5. *Ie no mae ni neko ga i-masi-ta.*(context sentence)  
'There is a cat in front of a house.'  
*Sono neko ga saru o nade-masi-ta.*(SXV active)  
'The cat patted a monkey.'
6. *Mori no naka ni tora ga i-masi-ta.*(context sentence)  
'A tiger was in a forest.'  
*Sono tora ni inu ga oikake-rare-masi-ta.*(XSV passive)  
'A dog was chased by the tiger.'

# JAPANESE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND ITS ETYMOLOGY

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## ABSTRACT

Kinship terminology provides the linguist with interesting and important data for examining the genetic relationship of languages. This study analyzes eighteen Old Japanese kinship terms preserved in a record dating from 738. These terms are compared with semantically similar terms in Ryūkyūan, a logical step since Japanese and Ryūkyūan are sister languages. When possible, the reconstructed proto-forms from this comparison are then compared with Korean and other Altaic languages, in an attempt to strengthen the claim that Japanese is genetically related to Korean, and a member of the Altaic language family.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Kinship terminology belongs to basic (or core) vocabulary, and is important when studying whether there is a genetic relationship between two or more languages. While there is as yet no consensus among scholars about what language family Japanese belongs to, there have been many attempts to assign Japanese to any number of families. Regardless, kinship terminology has only rarely been used, and then only a few lexical members from kinship terminology have been cited. Three scholars have posited some etymologies, but these have been narrow in scope. Thorpe (1983) deals with only seven terms (aunt, brother, grandchild, husband, mother, son-in-law, and wife) and these are reconstructed on the basis of cognates in the various Ryūkyūan languages. Whitman (1985) proposed etymologies for several kinship terms in Japanese and Korean, positing proto-forms, but he only addresses one word, 'mother.'

Martin (1987) has addressed all kinship terms, but has only given a proto-Japanese form. His most recent work (1996) deals with six terms (brother, father, grandchild, husband, mother and nephew), but many of these are simple citations from Japanese, and there is little attempt to relate them to other languages; I believe that many are cited to show that greater work needs to be conducted on the etymology of these words in Japanese and Korean, or Japanese and other Altaic languages.

This paper attempts to elucidate—as far as is presently viable—the etymologies of Japanese kinship terminology, and attempts to posit genetic relationships between Japanese and other languages. In a study of kinship terminology, it is necessary to select words that are actually kinship terms. The first step in our analysis is sifting through the available data. Since I am interested in Old Japanese, my analysis must concentrate on the oldest available data (from the ninth century).

## 2. OLD JAPANESE DATA

As is true of any analysis, the selection of terms will influence our results. The ideal situation would be to locate an ancient list or description of kinship terminology from which we could select our terms. It is fortunate that such a list does exist, preserved in a commentary on the ancient codes of Japan, *Ryô no shûge*.

*Ryô no shûge* is a large compilation of somewhat unclear authorship, dating from around 880.<sup>1</sup> This commentary is important because it mainly consists of quotes from earlier works, all of which are no longer extant. The oldest work quoted by *Shûge* is *Koki* (Old Record), being the oldest commentary on the Taihō Codes (promulgated in 701) known to the compiler of *Ryô no shûge*. Scholarly consensus dates *Koki* around 738 (Yamanaka and Morita 1991:130-133).

(i) Kinship Terminology in *Ryô no Shûge*

CHINESE	MEANING	PHONETIC	ROMANIZED
父	father	知 知	<i>titi</i>
母	mother	於 毛	<i>omo</i>
夫	husband	乎 比 止	<i>wopyitq</i>
祖父	grandfather	於 保 知	<i>opot</i>
祖母	grandmother	於 保 母	<i>opopa</i>
曾祖父	great grandfather	於 保 保 知	<i>opopot</i>
外祖父	maternal grandpa	於 保 遲	<i>opodi</i>
外祖母	maternal grandma	於 保 坡	<i>opopa</i>
伯叔	paternal uncle	乎 遲	<i>wodi</i>
姑	paternal aunt	乎 婆	<i>woba</i>
姊	(older) sister	阿 爾	<i>ane</i>
妹	(younger) sister	於 伊 毛	<i>oimo</i>
夫之父	father-in-law	志 比 止	<i>sipyitq</i>
夫之母	mother-in-law	志 比 止 賣	<i>sipyitqmye</i>
舅	maternal uncle	乎 遲	<i>wodi</i>
姨	maternal aunt	乎 婆	<i>woba</i>
從父兄弟	(male) cousin	伊 止 古	<i>itokwo</i>
從父姊妹	(female) cousin	伊 止 伎 毛	<i>itogyimo</i>
兄弟子	nephew	乎 備	<i>wopy</i>
兄弟子	niece	賣 比	<i>myepyi</i>

*Koki* includes helpful data, because while the text was written in Chinese, when dealing with native Japanese words, the compiler transcribed words into phonetic script. In a section on the proper administration and protocol regarding funerals and mourning, eighteen kinship terms appear in Chinese and Japanese: these are listed in (i). The terms in (i) form the core of the database I will use to analyze the terminology of Old Japanese (OJ) compared with Korean and other Altaic languages.

Chart (i) lists the words according to the semantics in Chinese, which have been glossed into English. The phonetic form is written in *man'yôgana*, the method of transcription the Japanese used to write their own native words, using the phonetic value of Chinese characters, while ignoring the semantic value. These transcriptions have been romanized for easy reference.<sup>2</sup>

## 3. THE DATA

Before the linguistic issues of genetic relationship are addressed, it will be helpful to arrange the data by gender (related by blood) and those who fall outside of blood lineage in a family. On the surface it appears that many of these kinship terms can be grouped under one of three rubrics, which we shall loosely label as *paternal*, *maternal* and *other*. The paternal group shares the lexical element *\*ti*, which points to the male progenitor of the family. The maternal group shares the lexical element *\*pa*, representing the female progenitor of the family. The last group shares the element *\*pitq* 'person', pointing to people who do not fit within the blood-lineage organization. Thus, these *other* people are set apart, having no blood relation (in theory, at least) with ego, the starting point for any analysis of kinship terminology.



## (ii) Chart of Kinship Grouping

Paternal	Maternal	Other
*ti < *t <sub>Q</sub> -Ci	*pa	*pit <sub>Q</sub>
titi 'father' < *t <sub>Q</sub> -Ci	papa 'mother'	wopyit <sub>Q</sub> 'husband' < *bo-pit <sub>Q</sub>
opo-ti 'grandfather'	opo-pa 'grandmother'	sipyit <sub>Q</sub> 'father-in-law' < *si-pit <sub>Q</sub>
opopo-ti 'great grandpa'	opopo-pa 'great grandma'	sipyit <sub>Q</sub> mye 'mother-in-law'
wodi 'uncle' < *bo-n-ti	woba 'aunt' < *bo-n-pa	< *si-pit <sub>Q</sub> -mi[C]a

This chart (ii) shows the division into three groups. I have given the relevant words in their Old Japanese and proto-Japanese forms for easier reference. All proto-forms in the chart are taken from Martin 1987. Martin (1987:547) reconstructs 'father' as \*t<sub>Q</sub>-Ci t<sub>Q</sub>-Ci. I believe that 'mother' is also a reduplication, \*pa > papa, following the pattern with 'father' above. It is interesting to note, however, that Japanese has two words for 'mother' (*papa* and *omo*). It has been suggested to me that this follows a pattern found in many languages (English 'mother' vs. 'mom', Russian 'mat' vs. 'mama', or Chinese 'mǔ qin' vs. 'mama'), but these are merely diminutive variations of the same word. The Japanese forms are clearly different, suggesting that one is borrowed.<sup>3</sup>

I consider *omo* to be the original form, and *papa* to be the borrowed one. The strongest evidence for this claim is what appears in *Ryô no shûge*, with its attending legal explanations. One quote from *Koki* contained in *Shûge* says, "When the woman [the wife] has been left by the patriarch [i. e., he has died], she becomes a widow. In the vernacular this is known as *titi ni yamarenitaru omo* [literally 'the mother who has suffered the illness of the father']" (Kuroita 1955:971).<sup>4</sup> The usage makes it clear that *omo* was used in such legal cases as terminology denoting a widow.

In the following analysis, I analyze the eighteen kinship terms noted in Chart (i), using the OJ forms as a starting point. These are then compared with reflexes in Ryûkyûan, and cognates in Middle Korean (fifteenth century), Manchu-Tungusic, Mongolian and Turkic, or what is usually termed Altaic. For the purposes of this paper, I shall divide Ryûkyûan into three subgroups: a) Northern (represented by the Shuri dialect), b) Yaeyama (generally data from Ishigaki or Hateruma) and c) Yonaguni.<sup>5</sup>

## 4. GENETIC RELATIONSHIP

i. **FATHER**, OJ *titi*.<sup>6</sup> Words for 'father' in the Ryûkyûan languages are complicated and diverse, a problem that is not confined just to the term for 'father'. The northern groups generally call 'father' *su:* or *fu:*. In the south, Ishigaki has two forms, *fu:* and *?aja*. Hateruma has *ija*, and Yonaguni has *?ija*. This diverse array of terms makes it difficult to sift out proper reflexes.

It is tempting to relate this word, *ija*, to the verb *oyu* 'grow old', since both this word and *oya* are reconstructed as \**oda* by Martin (1987:514, 740). This proto-form in turn has a nice cognate in Mongolian \**ötel-* (Lessing 1995:646) 'old man' and Tungusic \**uta-* 'old age' (Starostin et al. #1075).

It is possible, on the other hand, that this proto-form, \**oda*, may have originally been 'father', cognate with Mongolian \**eci-ge* 'father' and Tungusic \**eti-* 'old man' (Tsintsius 1977:469). If this is true, then OJ *oya* 'parent' and *oyu* 'grow old' would be unrelated words that happen to have been homophonous at one time in their history.<sup>7</sup>

The MK word, *api* 'father' semantically belongs here, but phonologically fits well in section iii, 'grandfather'.

ii. **MOTHER**, OJ *omo*. The OJ word has a good reflex in Ryûkyûan, found in the various related forms *amu*, *abu*, *amma* and *aboa*. I reconstruct the proto-Ryûkyûan form as *\*ab/mV* (*V* [+back]). From these two forms, I then reconstruct PRJ *\*omo*, where the initial vowel in Ryûkyûan lowered. Add to this MK *emi* 'mother', and it is possible to reconstruct PKJ *\*emV*.

There are other cognates in Altaic for 'mother'. Written Mongolian has *eme* 'woman, wife'. Interestingly, the Ewenki term, *ene* 'woman, wife', does not appear to be cognate with PKJ *\*emV*. The word *ene* does, however, appear to be cognate with Old Turkic *ana* 'mother' (Sevortian 1974:147, 278-281).

iii. **GRANDFATHER**, OJ *opoti*. As noted above in Chart (i), this is a compound of *opo*- and the word for father, *\*ti*, analogous to the same English word (grand + father). This is an innovation within the Japanese language family that spread throughout the island chain. Nevertheless, Yonaguni, the southern-most island of the Ryûkyûan archipelago, has a form that is a cognate in Altaic.

This Altaic form was *\*apa*—Neghidai *apa* 'senior, older' (Tsintsius 1975:47), Mongolian *aba* 'senior, older', and Chuvash *apa* [*aba*] 'grandmother, older female relative' (Skvortsa 1982:37). The Yonaguni word *abu* is a contracted form of *\*apa-bo* 'senior male' (*\*apa-bo* > *awa-bo* > *\*aja-bo* > *\*aa-bu* > *abu*).

It is tempting to view the Korean word *api* 'father' as a cognate with the Altaic form: *â-pi* < *\*apa-pi*, where the medial obstruent lenited, and the vowels coalesce, and all that remains is the low pitch to mark the merger of two vowels. The MK form for 'grandfather', *epi*, is an elided form of *epizi*, itself an analogically changed form of *api* and *ezi* 'mother, parents' (cf. Martin 1996:97).

iv. **GRANDMOTHER**, OJ *opopa*. This form is a compound like that in iii, with the prefix *opo* 'large' attached to the word for 'mother', *\*pa*. Again, the Yonaguni form has the same cognate in Altaic. 'Grandmother' in Yonaguni is *aQpa*, a contraction of *\*apa-pa* 'senior mother'.

v. **GREAT GRANDFATHER**, OJ *opopoti*. This word is a compound formed with a reduplication of 'great' *opo* plus 'father' *\*ti*, very similar to the English gloss, 'great grandfather'.

vi. **UNCLE**, OJ *wodi*. Martin reconstructs the proto-form of *wodi* as *\*bo-n-ti* (1987:514). The final syllable is, of course, the word for 'father'. This should be *\*te* in proto-Ryûkyûan, because with the loss of the medial consonant, *\*tq-Ci* would collapse to *\*te*. If the original had been *\*ti*, Yaeyama would have *si*, because *i* and *u* merged before coronal obstruents (Thorpe 1983:66). This has not happened, and Yonaguni preserves forms like *bunt'i*: or *bud'itt'i*: while Iriomote has *buts'i*. Yonaguni *ti* goes back to *\*ki* or *\*te* (Thorpe 1983:73) and here this *ti* is simply the word for 'father'.

The pressing problem is finding out what *bo-* means, and what its cognates are in the Altaic family. It could be argued that this is the word for 'man', reconstructed by Starostin (1991:276) as proto-Altaic *\*beye* (PMT *\*beye*, Mongolian *beye*, proto-Japanese *\*bə*). Rather than pursue this semantic course, it is preferable to follow another path that is suitable with kinship terms, seeing *\*bo-* as meaning 'small'. Thus, in a multi-family household, there would be the senior father (grandfather), ego's own father, and a small or minor father (uncle). This follows the pattern where a grandfather is called the 'large father' *opo-ti*, making the brother of the father antithetical in status.

The MK word is *acopi*, and on the surface it appears to be related to the term for 'father', *a-co-pi* mirroring *a-pi* 'father'. I would opt, however, for viewing this as composed of 'brother's father' (where a male enters the family because of marriage to a female in the family, and is therefore both a brother and father). The earlier form is *\*az-a-pi* 'brother + male parent'. There is one other word in Korean that supports this phonological change. MK *hoWooza* 'alone', becomes modern *honca*, with loss of medial labial (Pang 1977:17), and palatalization of triangle.

vii. **AUNT**, OJ *wodi*. The situation with aunt is identical to UNCLE. 'Small' *\*bo-* attaches to the word for mother (*pa*). The Yaeyama term *buba* (Ishigaki *buba-ma*, Hateruma *buba*) is a reflex of this PJ word: *\*bə-nə-pa* > *\*bo-n-pa* > *\*boba* > *buba*. The MK form, *a-co-mi*, does not appear to fit with the Japanese forms, but it does fit with the explanation given in vi, and here it means 'brother's wife (mother)' *\*az-e-mi*.

viii. **HUSBAND**, OJ *wopyitq*. The OJ word uses the same pattern as that found in the terms for UNCLE and AUNT ('small' + 'kinship or gender marker'). Here it is *wo* 'small' and *pyitq* 'person': *wopyitq* < *\*bo-pitq*. This would make him distinct from the patriarch, who was clearly older, and higher in seniority. The term for 'husband' may have been used mainly within a family context, while out in society the husband would designate himself according to his station as 'lord' or 'ruler'.

ix. **SISTER**, OJ *ane*. The word for 'brother' does not appear in the list in *Ryô no shûge*. Nonetheless the widely attested word for brother, *ani*, is still important in the explanation about the related word found in the list, *ane* 'sister'. As is true of many languages where the male term is the basic form from which the female term is derived, *ani* was the base form, with some kind of suffix attached. The suffix may have been something like *-ra*.<sup>8</sup> Thus, sister would be *ane* because of medial *-r-* loss<sup>9</sup> and then crasis: *\*ani-ra* > *\*ani-a* (contraction of the diphthong to *ye* > *e*) > *ane*. A similar pattern is found in Ryûkyûan, where a suffix *-ri* is added to the word for male *\*weke*, to denote 'brother' from the perspective of a woman (Thorpe 1983:269).

There are also cognates in Korean, where the situation mirrors that in Japanese and Ryûkyûan. That word is *enni* 'sister'. If we accept Vovin's claim that MK  $\Delta$  was really [ñ] (1993:247),<sup>10</sup> then we may accept his reading of a *Kyelim yusa* form of 'younger brother' as MK *año* > [a]ñ *ie* (1993:255), giving us a cognate for OJ *ani*. It must be noted, however that Martin does not accept the whole theory or its reconstructed forms (1996:67-68). He prefers to follow the traditional interpretation, *azo* 'younger brother'.

The situation may actually be that the PKJ form was *\*Vni* 'sibling', and this became OJ *ani* 'brother' and *\*ani-ra* 'brother's dear sibling', while the proto-form experienced a semantic shift in Korean so the only remnant is *enni* 'sister'. This explanation, coupled with Vovin's theory, may help explain the word for 'younger sister', MK *azonwui* < *\*azo-enni* 'younger (smaller) + sister'.

x. **NEPHEW**, OJ *wopiy*. The word for nephew is of unclear etymology, and I have little to add. The initial *\*bo-* is the same as that which attaches to 'uncle' and 'aunt'. The female counterpart is *\*myepiy* (the text of *Ryô no shûge* has *myepyi*<sup>11</sup>). This word is composed of 'status' or 'gender' plus *piy*, meaning 'sibling's child'. The *otsu-rui* vowel of this word (*piy*) can originate from two different vowel sequences (with a medial consonant), either *\*puCi* or *\*poCi*. The Korean word is *cokha*, 'nephew', and I know of no cognates.

xi. **NIECE**, OJ *myepiy*. See x. **NEPHEW**.

xii. **COUSIN**. This is another word of unclear derivation. It has been suggested by Martin (perhaps following Omodaka et al. 1967:86) that this is really *itq* + *kwo* 'beloved child'

< \*itwo-kwo (1987:428), but that sounds like it should mean 'grandchild' or some other person more closely related to the family. Cousins are too far removed to be named such, and usually would not live with ego. Also, there is no textual evidence for the vowel in *itq* (Martin's \*itwo). I know of no other cognates for this word in any related language.

xiii. **FATHER-IN-LAW**, OJ *sipyitq*. Both words for father and mother-in-law are formed by adding a prefix, *si-*, to the word 'person' *pyitq*. 'Mother-in-law' is formed by adding a female suffix (*mye*) to make the distinction in gender.

The Ryūkyūan data are of importance here, showing a small divergence in terms. Ishigaki and Hateruma preserve 'father-in-law' as *s'ituuja*, Hatoma and Iriomote as *s'ituuja*, while Yonaguni has *sutuuja*. This evidence strongly suggests that the PR form was \**si-putq-oja* 'parent-in-law'. The Ishigaki-Hateruma form shows the following development: First -p- weakens to -w- then to -y-, resulting in \**sijutq-oja*. The glide is then lost, and vowel raising takes place. Later *si-* merges with *si-*, and the high back vowel is then lost, resulting in the present form, *situ-uja* (PR \**siputq* > \**sijutu* > \**siuutu* > \**siutu* > *situ* + *uja*).

The Yonaguni form, on first inspection, appears to have traveled the same phonological path, but the initial *su-* is problematic. The Hatoma evidence is therefore of critical importance, because when Ishigaki has -i-, Hatoma has -i- with few exceptions. Sometimes, when Ishigaki has -i-, Hatoma will have a devoiced -u- (Leon A. Serafim, personal communication). Thus, we should reconstruct \**si-*. Two explanations for the initial syllable and its odd vowel in this Yonaguni word are possible. First, when the medial labial (-p-) was lost, the first of the two vowels in the resulting vowel cluster (of \**siu-*) dropped, \**siutu* > *sutu*.

There is one major drawback with this theory: either \**si* or \**su* in Yonaguni would have become \**si* which would have been affricated to *ci* (Thorpe 1983:73). Thus, the second possibility is in reality the only logical one I see at present: corrupted data. It is possible that Miyara mistakenly heard the vowel as high back /u/, when in reality it was devoiced: *s'ituuja*.

Turning to the Korean peninsula, the Middle Korean term is also of interest, it being *suyapi* 'father-in-law'. I theorize that the prefix goes back to PK \**su[r]i-* with medial r-loss (Whitman's law). Thus, the OJ form *si-* would go back to an earlier form, \**suCi* or \**sqCi*. I reconstruct PKJ \**sq/uri* 'in-law'.

xiv. **MOTHER-IN-LAW**, OJ *sipyitomye*. See xiii. **FATHER-IN-LAW**

## 5. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the data from the eighth century have shown that cognates do exist in many cases between Japanese and Ryūkyūan. There also is evidence for a direct link with Korean and other Altaic languages, with that link extended to Japanese. It seems very difficult to claim that borrowing is the sole reason for the affinity, because kinship terminology, in general, are resistant to borrowing.

Kinship terminology offers scholars a tight, well-defined set of data to use in establishing etymology and genetic relationships. While my results have not been conclusive, I believe they have at least been encouraging, allowing us more data to use in establishing a genetic link between Japanese and Korean, and extending the possibility of that to Japanese and the Altaic languages.

## NOTES

- 1 Martin (1996:67) says that *Ryô no shûge* dates from 718. He likely has been misled by the erroneous entry in the back of Omodaka et al. (1968:888), which attributes the completion of the text to 718.
- 2 The transcription is helpful because it makes a distinction between a type A (*kô-rui*) and type B (*otsu-rui*) vowel. Briefly stated, type A vowels were more rounded than the type B counterparts. Thus, type A /i/, /e/, and /o/ are transcribed as *yi*, *ye* and *wo*. Type B are written as off-glides for the front vowels *iy*, *ey*, and an underlined back vowel *ɤ*, which actually represents schwa.
- 3 Thanks to an anonymous reader for pointing this out to me.
- 4 *Vernacular* here means the Japanese language as compared to the legal language, Chinese. As in the present, it is assumed that the spoken language made a distinction between polite and informal.
- 5 For this paper, all Yaeyama forms come from Miyara 1980, which was originally compiled in 1930. What is known as modern Okinawa Prefecture can be divided into four island groups, listed from north to south: Amami, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama. I have elected to separate Yonaguni from Yaeyama in this discussion.
- 6 The following abbreviations have been used: MK: Middle Korean, OJ: Old Japanese, PJ: Proto-Japanese, PRJ: Proto-Ryûkyûan-Japanese, PKJ: Proto-Koreo-Japonic. Korean transcriptions follow Yale (Martin) Romanization.
- 7 While the etymology is one of the weakest I have to offer, there is this possible cognate in Ewenki: OJ *titi* < \**ti* < \**tɔ*-Ci < Ewenki *tori* 'dowry given from the groom's father [to the bride's family]' (Tsintsius 1977:199).
- 8 *Man'yôshû* has several examples where *-ra* is used as a suffix of endearment. MYS 337 starts with the line: *okura-ra pa* "Dear Okura is...".
- 9 Medial *-r-* loss is often known as Whitman's law, due to John B. Whitman (1985). When proto-Japanese (or proto-Korean) \**r* occurred intervocalically, and the liquid was preceded by a short vowel, \**r* dropped.
- 10 Briefly stated, Vovin (1993) argued that the phonetic value of the triangle in fifteenth century Hangul represented a palatal nasal [ɲ], and not a voiced fricative as many now believe. His evidence comes from internal evidence as well as reconstructions of Chinese.
- 11 This is a difficult issue. Because of the date of the text of *Koki*, it appears that these two terms are different, even down to the suffix. I believe the two suffixes were the same, but that the spelling was altered later to make the distinction clearer. Thus, the original suffix was *piy* 'sibling's child'.

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# EX/CENTRIC

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## ABSTRACT

Poet Allan Grossman describes the individual as fluctuating between two poles: the self that must have relationship and the self that cannot. The self that must have relationship requires contact to survive; the self that cannot sustain relationship is threatened by it. This series of poems explores the strenuous rowing toward one another; the dangers of obliteration through loss, brutality, isolation and dominance; the cyclical pattern of emotional death and regeneration.

1972

That was the year I never slept alone.  
The bed seemed full of edges: William Blake,  
tucked up beneath the fingers of my left hand,  
Keats and Shelley, and Byron had a way  
of hitting the carpet just as sleep crept in.  
I walked the campus a shadow, was half convinced  
that no one else could see me; ate and slept  
and vanished into library stacks at will.  
Others took drugs, but I was already drunk  
on modulation, the brilliant dance  
of liquid cadences across a page.

And when I cried, I cried real tears: for Keats,  
dying hungry above the Spanish Steps,  
for Byron, for an emotional weariness,  
too deep for death to extinguish. I did not cry  
for that broken rainbow, a pillar of flame  
vanished into cloud, the face of a palm  
trapped in smooth brown water, or what I saw  
one morning through a window: cliff holding cloud  
asleep on his lap, and happy; cloud with her arm  
lazily trailed around his half-bent neck,  
and both of them wet, and happy. I did not cry  
for what never happened, and will not cry again.

## Between the Acts

"But it's all right," she says. Out in the yard,  
beyond the fluorescent lights, windstruck palms  
battered but staunch, shake ragged wings  
ready for lift-off.

"I love him," she says,  
blue eyes feinting sideways, cigarette  
halfway to her lips—but the shaking hand,  
losing its destination, hovers there  
an act with no purpose.

I think of the lab  
 I hated most in high school: long-dead frogs,  
 the cool, insentient scalpels, and the dance,  
 grim and without volition, of the dead.  
 Stimulus, response: I wonder, as then,  
 what impulse sets us dancing—at what point  
 the body knows it's dead.

"We'll work it out."  
 She raises her head, and this time, meets my eyes.

Shifting and shifting, in turbulent wind,  
 the palm trees bluster, drag at their flexible stems,  
 and rise.

I think of the last time this happened—  
 think of her kids; the casserole on the counter—  
 whether this  
 is close as I get to offering love these days.  
 I list the fictions I participate in;  
 think, if I hurry, there might still be time—  
 to finish the ironing.

And out in wind,  
 streetlights burnish tar and restless palms  
 bend and turn, and raise their supple arms  
 to darkness—and the unrelenting moon,  
 whose bright, impatient flight shoots like a cue  
 hearts to random pockets.

Strikes again.

### Na Pali Trail, 1981

Leaking then, it was, and just like this:  
 fluid thick, and how it welled and seeped  
 up through fissured rocks, the draggled leaves  
 saturated, rigid twig as well  
 swelled to a comforting fullness. I thought then  
 the world had lost its boundaries, rolled itself  
 into one soft, slowly dissolving mass.

Up Na Pali trail, boots sucking mud;  
 air like this air: thick, and penetrant;  
 and less than six months old against my chest  
 you sleeping: rocked to heartbeats, breaths, and steps.  
 Wet as a seal; and you were wetter still;  
 And where that suddenly narrowed, crumbling trail  
 flung itself out so far above the sea  
 we breached horizon; Alexei, then,  
 waking, you tilted back your wobbling head  
 into that flashing, comet-tailed wet, and sang.



## Nintendo Dreams

*For David Levin, drowned March 23, 1991*

It's Sunday in the suburbs—mild and cool.  
Slow air shifts in shaded houses,  
hedge-trimmers purr;  
at the edge of pools the towheads cluster: drop their heels in false, clear blue.

And the smooth taste of smoked chicken  
slides on your tongue; cool white wine  
crisp as endive. And on the page  
an abstract pattern of singular thought  
remote and cool as a eunuch's dream—

a complex pattern of abstract thought,  
remote and cool as a eunuch's dream.

In the small room at the end of the hall two boys play a hard, painstaking game  
dark with symbol. In the cave  
there's only them and a monstrous bear.  
The bear is sleeping. The boys plot out  
what they will do when the bear wakes up.

*But the water comes so fast at the edge of the rock,  
foaming and sliding, it almost makes you sick.  
Beneath it coral spreads its bony arms  
as if to make you welcome. The sun,  
scoring vehemently a bright white beach,  
bends its vacant eye again and again  
and sees nothing.*

The day of the funeral was clear enough:  
I had never seen the house and lawn so clean.  
The guests had all come early, and crocuses  
stood to attention in the flowerbeds.  
The dead child's father, directing cars  
carried his son's ashes under his arm  
in a koa box.

*At first there were so many resurrections:  
clothes and books that surfaced from sofa cushions  
and odd corners. The boys  
who didn't look like him when you got close.*

*Then after awhile, our sense of absence failed;  
the spaces where he wasn't all closed up—  
we lost our sense of loss.*

*And it's difficult to think—how if he came back  
he'd probably be too young now to play with his friends.*

But the morning of the service we'd no clue  
how even grief betrays us. We cried

and the water took his ashes without thanks.  
 We stood at the bridge and shook our baskets out,  
 and the crimped petals, spiralling downwind,  
 dropped in graceful stages to the sea.

They seemed to find it easy  
 to leave.

### **The Things You Make**

most of them in clay . . . first, a scene of your father  
 watching tv, his arms stretched out along the sofa back.

The lamp, the chair, the Sony Trinitron, diminutive reproductions,  
 looked real—except that the small tableau was mirror-imaged.

This was soon after I divorced him. I remember  
 locking the door at night with shaking fingers:

the chain lock sticking. The following winter,  
 you made your masterpiece: a cumbrous Sphinx

with red, ball-bearing eyes, and massive paws,  
 a gilded head-piece crowned with a cobra rampant.

Then monsters of all descriptions: small and green,  
 with wideset bat-like wings; some serpentine,

twisted, purple; others, hunched and yellow,  
 rearing, horned, with menacing, outstretched claws—

one climbs a building through which he has punched a hole.  
 Child with no childhood. But then those hands

sensitive and small, so full of hints,  
 glaze, and shape, and roll—unpack, with care

from out its rickety cardboard case: a cat  
 whose wide, unblinking eyes and square-set stance

speak confidence, thought the curling tail still questions.  
 He gives me hope: he, and the jack-o-lantern,

whose homely, unfanged face, this Halloween,  
 sports large unfashionable glasses—and a friendly grin.

### **From the Terrace of the Nani Loa**

The dusk drifts slowly up the bay  
 dragging the night behind her—and the day

contemplates coming. In the east  
the sun makes an appearance—or at least  
hints that she might be somewhere there  
behind that mass of thick, compacted air.

And the small, spare drops that barely rain  
fall on the distant hills where mist has lain  
all night without moving. By the rocks  
the whitecaps spill and the Hokule'a knocks  
against her mooring—as if she wants to know  
where the helmsman is, and when they will go.

The terrace where I sit is all a sheen;  
a glistening. The slopes beyond are green  
where palms are turning, tossing up their fronds  
as if in one more hula—to the gods  
for making such a morning. I'm alone,  
the coffee's hot, the day is all my own—

the wind will sweep the full sail out to sea,  
and leave the bay to silence and to me.

#### Fourteen: for Alexei

Unfold in pattern, bending, blending so;  
in time we find what's ours, and what time owns;  
and so, in rhythmic splendor, grow, and grow.

As seeds, so long encapsulated, blow  
the seed case, and stretch upwards—so the 'mones,  
unfold in pattern, bending, blending so.

Astonished, you reflect your mirror's glow  
examine muscled flesh, the lengthening bones—  
and so in rhythmic splendor, grow, and grow.

Your clear high treble levels, sliding low—  
those squeaks and froggy growls seek deeper tones—  
unfold in pattern, bending, blending so.

You bathe, you shave, your style is *comme il faut*,  
you hibernate the nights your *girlfriend* phones—  
and so, in rhythmic splendor, grow, and grow.

That you'll soon leave—that you and I both know:  
in time we find what's ours, and what time owns.  
Unfold in pattern, bending, blending so;  
and so, in rhythmic splendor, grow, and grow.

**Off Makapu'u: an epithalamium**

Waimanalo Beach/Feb. 15, 1995

The beach is still tonight—as beach can be:  
the waves successive hushings—& the clouds

(white-capped also) foam/and close//us  
in here/on this threshold//one more time.

Sand: pale & uneven! We ask a blessing.  
And out by Makapu'u (as if on cue) . . .

the silent moon rims out, bronze and carillon  
& compasses with light/both point & line.

Unfoldings in the dark: the uneven rhythm  
of breath & pause//the motions from—& to:

the sea, turning again, her sequen/tial ques/tions  
answered (I guess) by the one//off-center//star

II. Y'KNOW WHAT I  
MEAN?



# CULTURE AS A RESOURCE IN INTERACTION: THE CASE OF BACK-CHANNELS ON A JAPANESE POLITICAL DEBATE TELEVISION PROGRAM

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## ABSTRACT

Previous studies of back-channel behavior in Japanese have suggested that it is a preoccupation with harmony that causes the Japanese to employ a high number of back-channels when they interact with each other. However, this paper argues that such a conception of the relationship between culture and social interaction, where culture is seen as the direct force compelling and shaping interaction, has to be expanded in order to consider the individual's ability to use knowledge of her/his own culture as a resource in interaction. Through an analysis which demonstrates that back-channels are often used by panelists on a Japanese debate program to enhance their chances of gaining the access to the floor needed to take turns-at-talk, the argument is made that it is the common knowledge that back-channels are used in Japanese interaction to express agreement and solidarity that makes it possible for the panelists to employ them as resources for coping with the competitive and heated nature of the interaction on the debate program.

The emphasis on maintaining group harmony and on having smooth relations would probably cause speaker-listeners to use more *aizuchi* ('back-channels') to show willingness to co-operate in the conversation and to show support and attach values to the speaker on the part of the listener (Locastro 1987: 110).

Because talk content matters little for Japanese, they can liberally use back-channels without it conflicting with their interactional needs; the use of back-channels are in concordance with their expectation of collective and nonconfrontational interaction...through back-channels, supporters deemphasize talk content, and focus upon interactional agreement for the sake of group unity (Yamada 1992: 134).

To maintain harmony, unanimity, or mutual understanding, people must be sensitive to the recipient's point of view and feelings... In conversation, the fear of deviating from the speaker's viewpoint and the eagerness to anticipate, understand, and accommodate the other's idea may, in part, be demonstrated by the frequency with which the Japanese listener interjects with a back-channel (White 1989: 67).

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The three quotations provided above are representative of studies focusing on back-channel behavior in Japanese that have suggested, when they have not explicitly stated, that it is a preoccupation with harmonious and nonconfrontational interaction that leads the Japanese to employ a high frequency of back-channels when they interact with each other (cf. Locastro 1987; Maynard 1986, 1989; White 1989; Yamada 1992). However, even though this paper follows those previous studies and treats listener response utterances such as *hai* (yes), *un* (uh-huh), *ee* (yes), and *soo desu ka* (is that so?) as back-channels, the analysis uses naturally occurring data from a Japanese political debate television program entitled *Gekiron: Asa Made Nama Terebi* ("Fiery Discussion: Live TV Until Morning") to argue that such a conception of the relationship between culture and social interaction, where culture is seen as the direct force compelling and shaping interaction, is too narrow and ultimately prevents us from being able to see the variety of interactional functions back-channels can serve within Japanese interaction.<sup>1</sup>

This is not to say that culture does not influence interaction. Surely it does. Rather, it is the contention of this paper that any conception of the relationship between culture and interaction that stops after suggesting a direct causal relationship verges on treating individual interactants, to use Garfinkel's (1967) term, as "judgmental dopes" who are merely programmed to act according to a predetermined cultural script. Accordingly, this paper claims that the relationship has to be expanded in order to consider the individual's ability to use knowledge of her/his own culture as a resource that can be used to construct interaction in strategic ways.

It should also be made clear from the outset that this paper in no way attempts to challenge the commonly held view that the Japanese place a high value on harmonious and unaggressive interaction. On the contrary, the basic argument put forth is that it is the common knowledge that back-channels are typically used in Japanese interaction to express agreement and show solidarity that makes it possible for the participants on the program to use back-channels as resources for acquiring the access to the floor necessary for taking turns-at-talk. To further understand how back-channels are employed strategically on the debate program requires further details about the program's format and the basic structure of the interaction, and thus, the next section begins by providing such background information.

## 2. BASIC ORGANIZATION OF THE DEBATE PROGRAM

The debate program runs about 4- 1/2 to 5 hours and airs once a month starting after midnight. Each episode consists of a debate by a group of panelists over a major issue of economic or political relevance. For the purposes of the current paper, two episodes of the program were videotaped and transcribed. The issues discussed on these two episodes were 1) *Chuutoo kiken: Doo suru Nihon* ("The danger in the Middle East: What will Japan do?") —aired 1990— and 2) *Kanryoosei* ("The bureaucratic system") —aired 1993. The number of panelists varies from episode to episode, and there were fifteen and sixteen panelists, respectively, for the two episodes used. Included in the panel is one person designated as the moderator. The moderator is a regular member of the panel who appears on each episode of the program; this also appears to be the case for about four of the other panelists. The other ten or eleven panelists are chosen for their expertise on the issue of that particular program.

In terms of social interaction, the debate program is especially interesting because at the same time that the interaction contains a high frequency of back-channels, it is also marked by a large number of confrontations, disagreements, and arguments.<sup>2</sup> Such an observation is consistent with previous studies that have found that the Japanese use a high number of back-channels, but it also suggests that we should not be too quick to assume that the driving force behind these particular back-channels on the program necessarily lies solely and directly in some preoccupation with harmony.

Although the frequently heated and sometimes downright hostile nature of the interaction seems to generate much of the program's public appeal, the fact that panelists often disagree with, confront, and interrupt each other can pose certain problems for the panelists.<sup>3</sup> Disagreements and confrontations can, because they tend to involve only two or three participants at a time and because they often lead to an extended exchange of turns between the panelists confronting each other, make it very difficult for some of the panelists to find a place to enter the discussion and take a turn. The problem is magnified by the fact that there are such a large a number of panelists who must compete for time in only one discussion. With such competition, any participant who is content to wait patiently for his/her turn to come may ultimately never find the opportunity to become involved in the discussion. Yet, despite this "problem", participants do appear to have interactional resources that they can use to assist them in finding a place in the discussion to take a turn. Indeed, it is the claim of this paper that back-channels can function to enhance panelists' chances of gaining entry into the discussion. Understanding how they come to serve as such a resource will, in turn, force us to reconsider the relationship between culture and interaction as it has been conceived of in previous studies of Japanese back-channels.

## 3. ANALYSIS: BACK-CHANNELS AS AN INTERACTIONAL RESOURCE

In order to understand how back-channels can enhance panelists' ability to find an entry point into the discussion, two specific points about the interactional effects of back-channels as they are used on the program need to be explicated. The first point, exemplified in excerpt (1)



below, is that back-channels allow a participant to select her/himself as a recipient of some other's talk.<sup>4</sup>

(1) The Bureaucratic System

- 01 Suzuki: kore wa ano: (.) ka- ikisugicha ikemasen keredo mo  
this TM um go past must not but
- 02 yahari (.) mamorubeki tokoro wa mamoranai to ikan  
indeed protect-should place TM not protect QT must not  
"We cannot lightly go past this, we have to protect places that must be protected."
- 03 Moderator: ano: [:  
um  
"um:"
- 04 Suzuki: [shaken ni tsuite mo desu ne=  
car safety inspections about also COP FP  
"Also about car safety inspections"
- 05 >> Moderator: =hai=  
yes  
"yes"
- 06 Suzuki: =daibu minaoshite ... ((Suzuki talks for almost a minute  
quite review explaining his point))  
"We have reviewed it ((the safety inspections))..."
- 07 Moderator: sono ne guitaiteki na mondai wa ato de kikitai n  
that FP concrete LK problem TM later want to hear NOM
- 08 desu ga=  
COP but  
"I want to hear about that concrete problem later, but"
- 09 >> Suzuki: =hai  
yes  
"yes"
- 10 Moderator: Suzuki-san kondo seiken ga kawarimashita  
Suzuki Mr. Now political world S changed  
"Mr. Suzuki, now the political world has changed"
- 11 Suzuki: hai  
yes  
"yes"

The moderator indicates that he has something to say in line 03, but before he can utter anything more than *ano:*, (*English gloss*) Suzuki comes in with an utterance that suggests he has more to add to what he was saying in lines 01-02. The moderator then makes it visible that he is

willing to acquiesce and let Suzuki continue by uttering *hai*, (*gloss*) a back-channel, in line 05. We do need to, of course, consider the possibility that the moderator's back-channel provides support to Suzuki and encourages him to go ahead and take a turn, and accordingly, more discussion will be offered in section 4 about the interplay of back-channels and support. Yet, with this back-channel in line 05, the moderator appears to be doing more than just encouraging Suzuki to speak; he is letting Suzuki know that he is willing to be a recipient of what Suzuki has to say. In other words, by uttering the back-channel *hai*, the moderator, in effect, chooses himself as a recipient of Suzuki's talk. That Suzuki both understands the moderator's back-channel to be a go-ahead signal and that he accepts the moderator as not just a recipient but as the primary recipient of his talk is evident in the way that Suzuki goes on to take an extended turn after line 06 and at the same time orient his body and eye-gaze toward the moderator. Yet, after Suzuki speaks for a short time, the moderator interrupts him in line 07. The fact that Suzuki is willing to let the interruption stand and allow the moderator to take a turn-at-talk is evidenced by his using a back-channel in line 10 to let it be known that he is choosing himself as a listener and not further pursuing the point he was making when he was interrupted. Indeed, the moderator does acknowledge Suzuki's willingness to be a listener by going on in line 10 to take a turn.

Whereas most of the previous studies of Japanese back-channels have, in discerning that back-channels function as signals of support or agreement, typically examined casual, dyadic conversation, it is the focus on multiparty interaction in the present study that enhances our ability to see that back-channels can allow participants to choose themselves as recipients of others' talk.<sup>5</sup> Unlike dyadic interaction, where there is usually only one recipient, it is not always readily obvious in multiparty interaction who is to be the recipient(s) of some speaker's talk.<sup>6</sup> In other words, the determination of the recipient(s) can be, and often is, open to negotiation. Moving to the second interactional effect that back-channels can have on the program, we can note that, especially in situations like the debate program where participants have to compete for the floor, actively choosing oneself as a recipient of another speaker's talk can be especially important because, as excerpt (2) below illustrates, it can be an interactional move that allows a panelist to claim rights to being the next speaker. The panelists in excerpt (2) are discussing then-Prime Minister Kaifu's trip to the Middle East.

(2) Middle East

01 Hamada: Nihon no (.5) kono:: sekaiheiwa ni taisuru sekkyokushisei  
Japan LK this world peace toward activeness

02 mitai na no o miseru chansu demo atta  
appearance LK NOM O show chance also had

"This became a chance for Japan to show their active stance on the subject of world peace."

03 ???:  
sore wa soo  
that TM true  
"That is true"

04 Hamada: ne [soo shite] sono ato motto=  
FP and that after more

"Right and after that for a more"=

05 Takaichi: [Hamada-san]  
Mr. Hamada  
"Mr. Hamada"

- 06 Hamada: =kokkate [ki ni] (.)taioosaku o=  
effectively response O  
="effective response"
- 07 >> Takaichi: [un: ]  
uh-huh  
"uh-huh"
- 08 Hamada: =motto hayaku (.) [yareru (.) chansu de mo atta  
more fast can do chance also existed  
= "this was a chance to do it more quickly"
- 09 >> Takaichi: un[:  
uh-huh  
"uh-huh"
- 10 Moderator: un  
'uh-huh'  
"uh-huh"
- 11 Asai: [iya sore wa ne]  
no that TP FP  
"No, as for that"
- 12 Takaichi: [iya konkai ]nikagetsu nobashita bun no ne  
no this time 2 months extended portion NOM FP  
"No, this time as for the two months that the trip was postponed"
- 13 Hamada: un  
uh-huh  
"uh-huh"
- 14 Takaichi: ano kookensaku te aru to omoimasu?=  
um positive contribution QT have QT think  
"Do you think anything positive came of it?"

In line 05, Takaichi, who had had an opportunity to speak earlier in the show but had not been involved in the interaction for several minutes, shows a desire to enter the current discussion by calling out Hamada's name. Takaichi's attempt, however, goes ignored as Hamada continues speaking. Takaichi then, in an apparent attempt to keep herself involved in the conversation, utters two back-channels in lines 07 and 09. They appear to be indicating Takaichi's desire to be recognized by Hamada as a recipient of his talk, but even more than that, by making her a party to the current interaction, they also appear to be serving as "demand tickets" for the floor (Nofsinger 1975). We can respecify the concept of a "demand ticket" to fit the present multiparty situation by saying that by explicitly demonstrating through the use of back-channels that one has been an active and interested member of some current interaction, a participant may be able to gain certain "rights" to becoming the next speaker that may not be available to some member of the panel who had not made any visible effort to become involved at that particular point. Indeed, this analysis is supported by the fact that Takaichi does go on in lines 12 and 14 to take a turn and ask Hamada a question.

Thus far in this section, two excerpts of talk from the debate program have been offered in an effort to demonstrate that by allowing a panelist to choose her/himself as a recipient of another

panelist's talk, back-channels can give panelists "rights" to becoming the next speaker, thereby enhancing panelists chances of actually getting the floor. In order to further exemplify this and, at the same time, emphasize just how important getting access to the floor can be for the panelists, the analysis will now turn to the speech of the moderator.

Like the other panelists, the moderator often contributes his opinions to the discussion and even sometimes disagrees with and engages in confrontations with other panelists. However, unlike the other panelists, one of the main tasks of the moderator is to allocate turns-at-talk to the other panelists. Since his allocation of turns is done in and through the discussion, his ability to distribute turns depends on his being able to have access to the floor. As excerpt (3) illustrates below, back-channels can serve as a resource enabling the moderator to have the access to the floor he needs to allocate turns to other panelists. Excerpt (3) begins at a point where Kurimoto has decided to self-select into the discussion. It should be pointed out that, because just prior to Kurimoto's point of entry and through his speech in line 02 the moderator had been engaged in talk with a different panelist, Kurimoto's talk seems to take him a bit by surprise.

(3) bureaucracy

- 01 Kurimoto: [desu kara desu kara]  
therefore therefore  
"therefore, therefore"
- 02 Moderator: [(\*\*)] narete nai kara dekiyoo [mo nai ]  
used to not because be able not exist  
"(\*\*) since they are not used to it, they probably have no way of  
being able to do it."
- 03 Kurimoto: [iya Yahata]  
no Yahata  
san no itte iru koto gyaku de:  
Mr LK saying thing opposite  
"No, it is the opposite of what Mr. Hata is saying."
- 04 >> Moderator: ee?  
huh  
"Huh?"
- 05 Kurimoto: atama no ii kata da kara uso itte ru ((laughter from other  
head LK good person because lie saying  
panelists)) wake de  
reason  
"Because he is an intelligent person, it's that he is telling a lie"
- 06 >> Moderator: dare ga  
who S  
"Who?"
- 07 Kurimoto: u- ((looks and points at Yahata)) Yahata san uso it [te iru  
Yahata Mr. lie saying  
"Mr. Hata is lying"

- 08 Moderator: [are wa  
that TM  
uso na no  
lie NOM Q  
"That is a lie?"
- 09 Kurimoto: ee uso [desu  
yes lie COP  
"Yes, it is."
- 10 >> Moderator: [hai  
yes  
"uh-huh"
- 11 Kurimoto: gya:ku ni: ji:min:to nari ni zokugin ga unum te yuu kedo  
on the contrary LDP become members S things QM say but  
"On the contrary, those LDP members are saying a variety of things,  
but"
- 12 >> Moderator: un  
uh-huh  
"uh-huh"
- ((For about 20 seconds, in explaining why he thinks Yahata is lying,  
Kurimoto gives his view- Tahara provides 4 more back-channels))
- 13 >> Moderator: Yahata san soo nan desu ka  
Yahata Mr. so NOM COP Q  
"Mr. Yahata, is that so?"
- ((Yahata responds by supporting his original position. As he does this,  
Tahara the moderator provides back-channels during his talk and when  
his talk comes to a completion, the moderator allocates a turn to a different  
panelist))

The moderator does not utter his first recognizable back-channel-like utterance until line 10, but he does utter clarification requests in lines 04, 06, and 08 before actually coming in with a set of back-channels. Clarification requests do indeed perform the function of clarifying what Kurimoto is talking about, but in addition, these clarification requests have an effect similar to that of back-channels. They establish that Kurimoto is speaking to the moderator; in other words, they establish the moderator as the recipient of Kurimoto's talk. This is especially important because, since Kurimoto had self-selected into this portion of the discussion, it is not clear at the point in which he self-selects who his remarks are directed towards. As he begins his utterance in line 01, he first looks at the moderator but then, as he starts to call Yahata a liar, his eyes move towards Yahata in line 07. Since he is directly accusing Yahata of lying, a strong speech act very much worthy of rebuttal, it is conceivable that Yahata could attempt to enter the discussion immediately to refute what Kurimoto is saying. Yet, the moderator's clarification requests and subsequent back-channels make it clear early on and all the way through Kurimoto's talk that Kurimoto is to be directing his talk to the moderator. The moderator is then in line 13 able to use the fact that he has access to the floor to solicit a rebuttal from Yahata. We can see that Yahata does refute in line 14 what Kurimoto said by holding to his original position. It should be pointed out that, similar to the way he did with Kurimoto, in the portion of the transcript not provided here the moderator provides constant back-channels to Yahata. It is these back-channels which help make it possible for the moderator to solicit Yahata's rebuttal and then move the discussion in

a different direction by allocating a turn to a different panelist (see the commentary provided after line 13).

Thus, in excerpt (3) it would seem that it is by virtue of the fact that back-channels both establish the moderator as the recipient of the other panelists' talk and also serve as a "ticket" to the floor that the moderator is able to gain the access to the floor he needs to distribute turns-at-talk to Yahata and to another panelist after Yahata. Since, as mentioned above, distributing turns-at-talk to other panelists is an important aspect of the moderator's job as moderator, we can see from excerpt (3) how back-channels, because they can give him access to the floor he needs, can become an important resource to the moderator for accomplishing his job.

#### 4. DISCUSSION

By suggesting that back-channels both allow participants to choose themselves as recipients and give them "rights" to claiming next speakership, the analysis has attempted to demonstrate that back-channels can become an important resource used by the panelists to gain access to the floor. However, the discussion will begin by returning to the notion of harmony and the possibility, mentioned previously, that the moderator's back-channels function as signals of support and encouragement. That this is a very distinct possibility is substantiated by the fact that panelists who receive back-channels from other panelists seem to treat them as cues to continue speaking. Yet, even if this is the case, this does not mean that we should jump to the conclusion that it was some concern with harmony and unaggressiveness that "caused" the panelists to employ such a large amount of back-channels. To make such an assumption would be to never even open our minds to the possibility that back-channels have other interactional effects, or to even consider that they could be employed strategically by the participants on the debate program.

What the proposed analysis forces us to realize about the relationship of culture to interaction is that rather than culture just causing interaction to take on a certain shape, knowledge of one's own culture can become a resource readily available to and usable by individual social actors as they go about constructing social interaction. Thus, in terms of back-channels on the debate program, this means that we must realize that, as thoughtful and interpretive beings, it is possible for the participants on the program to use their knowledge that back-channels are commonly used in Japanese discourse to show support and solidarity as a resource for dealing with the competitive nature of the interaction on the program. To further explicate this line of reasoning, we can first note that since it is a characteristic of Japanese interaction that back-channels are commonly employed to show support and encouragement, use of them by the panelists on the debate program does not in any way detract from the natural character of the interaction. In fact, because it is interaction involving Japanese people, we could even say that it is the frequent use of back-channels on the program that gives the interaction a distinctly Japanese flavor. And, if we treat the Japanese not as "judgmental dopes" merely reacting to a predetermined cultural script that calls for an emphasis on harmony and solidarity but instead as creative social actors, capable of producing speech in unique ways in a variety of different contexts, then we can begin to see how the Japanese can actively make use of the common knowledge that back-channels are a natural component of Japanese interaction to insert back-channels into the interaction not merely to accomplish the more general goals of expressing support and encouragement but also, at the same time, to accomplish other goals—such as gaining the access to the floor necessary to take turns-at-talk—that may be directly and immediately related to the competitive character of the speech situation itself. Thus, by recasting the relationship of culture to interaction in this way to appreciate the interpretive abilities of the Japanese, we can still acknowledge the importance of harmony and solidarity to the Japanese in interaction and even allow for recognition that back-channels can be used on the program for showing support and encouragement, but, we, at the same time, leave room for recognizing that back-channels can be used on the debate program by the panelists to enhance their chances of gaining entry into the discussion.

This reframing of the relationship between culture and interaction where knowledge of cultural beliefs becomes a usable resource in interaction entails a view of culture that, as Moerman states, does not treat culture as simply "the uniformly owned property of a discrete society" (1988: 4). Moerman further states that "a more complex concept emphasizes that culture is a set—perhaps a system—of principles of interpretation, together with the products of that system" (*ibid.*). Thus, rather than looking directly to a so-called cultural feature to explain an interactional phenomenon such as back-channeling, this expanded and more complex view of culture allows for the recognition of individual social actors as thoughtful and interpretative beings, and, even more importantly, by accepting the products and outcomes of individual's interpretations—for example, the use of back-channels on the debate program as a resource for getting the floor—as a part of culture, it will make it possible for us in the future to begin to treat the seemingly extraordinary interaction on the debate program with its many confrontations, disagreements, arguments, and back-channels as a product of the Japanese culture and not as an exception to it.

## 5. CONCLUSION

This paper has argued for a reconsideration of the relationship between culture and interaction suggested in previous studies of Japanese back-channels by attempting to demonstrate that culture, or more specifically, an individual social actor's knowledge of culture, can become a resource that can be employed in interaction in "strategic" ways. By adopting this type of view of the relationship of culture to interaction—one that treats the Japanese as interpretive and thoughtful individuals and not as mere captives of some predetermined cultural code, the analysis was able to highlight two functions of back-channels, choosing who the recipient(s) of a spate of talk will be and giving that recipient rights to claiming next speakership—that were not considered in previous studies of Japanese back-channels. Ultimately, it is hoped that if we bear in mind that it is possible for knowledge of culture to be a resource usable by individual actors in constructing interaction, then we will be better able to deepen our understanding of Japanese communication styles and how linguistic items such as back-channels vary in function across a variety of interactional situations.

## NOTES

- 1 Back-channels in Japanese have also been referred to as reactive tokens (Clancy et al. 1996), and they would also fall under the categories of "continuers" (i.e., Schegloff 1982) and "acknowledgement tokens" (i.e., Jefferson 1984).
- 2 Although, as a television program, there is the possibility that some or even most of the interaction is based on a predetermined script, in the writer's impression, upon watching a number of episodes and discussing them with native speakers of Japanese, that the interaction between panelists is quite spontaneous.
- 3 This statement should be qualified by noting that the writer has been told by a number of Japanese native speakers that the confrontational nature of the interaction is a primary source of its public appeal.
- 4 Transcription conventions and abbreviations used in the interlinear gloss can be found at the end of this paper in appendices A and B, respectively.
- 5 The exception to this is Yamada (1992), in which multiparty business meetings were analyzed.
- 6 There are, of course, speech situations such as radio and talk shows where, even though there may only be two parties involved in a discussion or interview, the overhearing audience must be considered as a sort of recipient.

## Appendix A: Abbreviations used in the Interlinear Gloss

Cop:	forms of the copula be verb	O:	object marker
FP:	sentence-final particle	S:	subject marker
LK:	linking nominal	TM:	topic marker
NOM:	nominalizer	Q:	question marker
QT:	quotative marker	tag:	tag question

## Appendix B: Transcription Conventions

[    ]	the points where overlapping talk begins and ends
(0.0)	length of silence measured in tenths of a second
(.)	micropause
<u>underline</u>	indicates some form of emphasis
::	lengthening of previous syllable
-	indicates that preceding sound has been cut off
=	"latched" utterances- no usual interval between utterances
?	rising intonation
(*)	unintelligible talk: each * represents .5 of a second
(( ))	author's comments - not part of the content of the transcribed talk

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# LAUGHS OF DISTRACTION: ANNA LETITIA BARBAULD'S SUBVERSIVE USE OF THE MOCK-HEROIC

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This paper argues that in two of her late eighteenth-century poems, "The Groans of the Tankard" and "The Mouse's Petition," Anna Letitia Barbauld uses the mock-heroic to subvert several aspects of British society, including Presbyterianism, sexual behavior, and women's limitations in general. She uses the mock-heroic in an unconventional way; her personifications of a Tankard and a mouse amuse and distract patriarchal readers from taking offense at her assertions for reform. By making such claims more subtle and acceptable, the device permits Barbauld to step outside women writers' subject and genre limitations.

During the English Romantic period, women had more opportunities to publish their writing than ever before. Mary Poovey attributes this growth to three factors: the decline of literary patronage after 1740, the Bluestocking society's promotion of women writers, and the eighteenth century's classification of "sentimentalism" as a woman's genre.<sup>1</sup> The conditions for publication, however, were stringent. Whereas men could pursue political topics, women were expected to sustain high morals. For a woman to undertake any kind of satirical stance in her writing was risky.

Anna Letitia Barbauld took this risk by using the mock-heroic construct as a kind of shield for her ideas, an unusual, feminist, adaptation of the device. Whereas customarily, the mock-heroic functions as an ironic belittlement of a subject which some faction of society prizes, Barbauld uses it for reverse effect. In "The Groans of the Tankard," she belittles the central problem, the substitution of water for alcohol at the dinner table, yet simultaneously magnifies the problem by making it a metaphor for many forms of starvation. Similarly, in "The Mouse's Petition," the delivery of an earnest cry for slavery's abolition by a mere mouse both belittles and magnifies the issue. The ridiculous talking Tankard and mouse distract a potentially disapproving reader from the author's serious critiques, thereby ensuring Barbauld's protection from an audience hostile to women writers' critiques of society.

Present-day writers have begun to puzzle out the humor in Barbauld's poems, noting burlesque aspects in "The Groans of the Tankard" and observing that "The Mouse's Petition" "teeters on the brink of satire, however light".<sup>2</sup> Needing attention, however, is the method and result of Barbauld's humorous mock-heroic devices. Focusing on "The Groans of the Tankard" and "The Mouse's Petition," this paper argues that Barbauld's skewed use of the mock-heroic conceals her satirical, feminist critique of Presbyterianism, late eighteenth century views on sexuality, slavery, and women's limitations.

To establish why Barbauld would take pains to use the mock-heroic as a disguise, we must consider the original reception of her work. Both "The Groans of the Tankard" and "The Mouse's Petition" were first published in 1773 in a collection of Barbauld's work, *Poems*; the collection was so popular that it underwent a total of four printings that year alone. Barbauld's niece, Lucy Aikin, attests to its favorable reception, as does a piece in the *Monthly Review* by William Woodfall (1773), which generally praises the poems, yet notes a faulty lack of femininity ascribed to Barbauld's having been educated by her father rather than her mother. While Barbauld's critic lost sight of the work in commenting on the writer's gender, he also promoted the poet and thus helped permit more publication of her work. Interestingly, neither Aikin, Woodfall, nor her biographers Grace Oliver and Betsy Rodgers, mention satire in conjunction with Barbauld's *Poems*; this leaves open the question of whether they or others recognized satirical strains in this collection, and if they did, whether they thought that mentioning it would provoke critics to damn her work.

Barbauld's overtly political work received similar gender-centered treatment from critics. In 1787 she published "An Address to the Opposers of the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts" which advocated full citizens' rights for Free Dissenters like herself and her family. In a 1790 review of this pamphlet, Rev. William Keate asks, seemingly with respect for the author, for more temperate language that would earn the claims more respect, then writes a postscript canceling his fairer judgment:

Since the above was at the press, the author hears with infinite surprise, not unmixed with concern, that the Address to the Opposers of the Repeal is from a female pen!  
'And in soft bosoms dwells such mighty rage?'<sup>3</sup>

Such responses indicate the dangerous reception accorded women who stepped outside of the subjects deemed suitable for them.

When Barbauld's critics recognized her satires as such, the result ironically diminished her readership. In 1812 her narrative poem, "Eighteen Hundred and Eleven" was published to mostly negative reviews. As several writers including Poovey and Barbara McDowell have pointed out, British women during this period were ordinarily limited to writing about domestic rather than political issues. Reviewers of this poem, which takes place in the future and portrays an American looking on the ruins of Britain after it has been destroyed by war, may have responded negatively because of Barbauld's extension outside domesticity and into politics. Yet at least one review mocked the genre as well:

Our old acquaintance Mrs Barbauld turned satirist! The last thing we should have expected, and, now that we have seen her satire, the last thing we could have desired...But she must excuse us if we think she has wandered from the course in which she was respectable and useful, and miserably mistaken both her powers and her duty, in exchanging the birchen for the satiric rod...we must take the liberty of warning her to desist from satire, which indeed is satire on herself alone....<sup>4</sup>

Reviews like this one, which was published anonymously in the *Quarterly Review* and according to Rodgers was later attributed to Robert Southey, reaffirm a hostile reception for women writing satire. This attitude may indicate why Barbauld developed safety tactics when writing anything satirical.

In developing safety tactics, Barbauld is not alone. In her essay, "Women Satirists of the Eighteenth Century: Towards a New Aesthetic?" Barbara Olive emphasizes the efforts by women satirists to maintain a connection with, rather than alienate, their audience.<sup>5</sup> This observation appears antithetical to the purposes behind writing satire, yet speaks to the resistance to write at all, and specifically to write this often-abrasive genre, that eighteenth century women had internalized. Olive cites "the elaborate fictions which authors of satire employ to narrate their texts, fictions that often further the satire and at the same time distance and protect the author from a potentially irate audience" such as the use of the mock-heroic, and provides the example of Mary Barber's "To a Lady" in which the narrator both satirizes a hostile critic and promises to heed his advice.<sup>6</sup> Her writing comes across as schizophrenic, the result of societal resistance internalized by the writer. These examples indicate a clash of resistances for women who wish to critique yet remain safe at the same time.

This dichotomy is apparent in "The Groans of the Tankard." The primary mock-heroic device, the Tankard's speaking ability, ensures safety for Barbauld because it appears to ideologically distance narrator and Tankard, thereby uniting narrator and reader. The poem, which can be divided into an introduction and three parts: Part 1, the situating of the poets at their dinner table (lines 1-26), Part 2, the Tankard's sermon (lines 27-80), and Part 3, the Sybil's silencing of the Tankard (lines 81-88), immediately distances narrator and Tankard. The word "strange" in the first line of the introduction, "Of strange events I sing," implies that the poem's narrator has not reached any conclusions about the poem's events.<sup>7</sup> This word thus provides an appearance of

distance between the narrator and the outspoken, judgmental Tankard. The first line also begins a four-line mock-heroic invocation, like that of Barbauld's later poem, "Washing-Day," that leads the reader to expect further amusement rather than serious material.

Our introduction to the speaking Tankard establishes it as a fool rather than an authority, thus building the connection between narrator and reader. In Part 1, the narrator, whom we know is a poet by the use of "Our" following the description of poets breaking for a meal, announces the Tankard's speech with the exclamation "But lo!" a comic intrusion that suggests both narrator and reader will be amused rather than edified by the speech.<sup>8</sup> The narrator's punning description of the Tankard's sudden ability to groan and talk increases this distance between narrator and Tankard; the narrator describes how the Tankard's "yawning mouth disclos'd the deep profound".<sup>9</sup> Here the puns on "yawning" and "profound," suggesting that the mouth gapes and emits deep weary groans, personify the Tankard as a complaining bore, one who clears its wide throat in an unappealing way as if beginning a tirade. "Profound" denoting "the deep sea" also predicts the watery topic of the Tankard's speech. The vast, in this case oceanic metaphor relating to a small topic typifies the mock-heroic, yet the irony is that ultimately, the Tankard's criticisms are profound. This introduction to them, however, disguises the coming profundities. The mock-heroic construct results in a connection between the narrator, who appears sane and intelligent alongside the crazy Tankard, and the reader, whose skeptical, amused eye focuses on the Tankard and not the narrator.

After the Tankard completes its speech, the poem's final eight lines continue to ally narrator and reader, thereby concealing the Tankard's serious claims. Instead of having time to mull over the Tankard's plea to fill it with ale rather than water, or see how the narrator responds to this plea, the reader encounters the distracting presence of the Sybil. A "sour, and stern" older woman, she sidetracks the reader from Tankard and narrator.<sup>10</sup> The narrator neutrally delivers the last two lines so that the reader remains allied with the narrator's point of view. Through their shared vision of the Tankard, a result of the mock-heroic, the narrator possesses authority to impart his/her ideas to the reader.

Despite the apparent connection of narrator and reader at the Tankard's expense, the poem's subtext reveals a stronger bond between narrator and Tankard. In Part 1, the distance created between narrator and Tankard paradoxically connects the two. The epithets "lean student" and "hungry poets" suggest a need for the Tankard to provide a beverage more substantial than water.<sup>11</sup> The narrator's self-identification as "hungry poet" adds weight to the Tankard's case; the poet, a person gifted with imagination, creation, and eloquence of expression, is metaphorically hungry in these areas, which indicates restlessness and dissatisfaction with the current conditions constructed for poetic composition. The imbibing of alcohol releases people from behavioral constraints, a situation that would provide more freedom and nourishment for poets. In this way the narrator's self-description provides a context for the Tankard's plea for alcohol and indicates that poets would benefit from the slackening of inhibitions that accompany it.

In Part 2, the narrator's reaction to the Tankard's speech also indicates subtle endorsement of the Tankard's ideas. During the entire speech neither the narrator nor the other listeners interrupt the Tankard, indicating that its ideas deserve much attention. Considering that the speech itself lasts 53 lines and would have continued but for the Sybil's interruption, the narrator's silence must signify support.

Part 3's portrayal of the Sybil also paradoxically connects narrator with Tankard. Both the Sybil's immediate appearance at speech's end, and the narrator's identical introduction of her ("but lo!"), distract the reader from the Tankard's ideas, so that the reader has no time to ponder them before considering this new character. Also, the Sybil's "stern ungracious look" figuratively "struck" the Tankard into silence; this act elicits sympathy for the Tankard.<sup>12</sup> The description of Sybil as ugly, stern, and responsible for silencing the Tankard's plea for pleasure via alcohol may appear problematic to readers of Barbauld as feminist, until one considers the inherent irony. The

Sybil is an undesirable female figure, yet she personifies the result of socially-valued abstinence. Since society is primarily a male construct, the blame for this stern, unrelenting character rests on men. Discussing women's humor, Regina Barreca points out that "if [women] tell these jokes about ourselves, we'll make the straight, white, patriarchal man our pal, because he finds these jokes funny too".<sup>13</sup> The narrator's humorous description of the Sybil acts as a ploy in this way, suggesting to the male reader that the narrator agrees with him. Furthermore, the narrator's hostile description of the Sybil as "sour" implies that the Sybil's nourishment has been tainted and imperfect; therefore her appearance serves as an example of why the Tankard's views should be adopted.<sup>14</sup> For these reasons, I disagree with William McCarthy's idea that the Sybil represents Barbauld's mother, who apparently instilled in the poet "bashfulness and maidenly reserve".<sup>15</sup> The Sybil is a universal figure, a personification of hunger who represents the lack of promise for all women while abstinence remains a value of society. Her appearance as enemy to both narrator and Tankard serves to link the two as ideological equals.

The Tankard continues to blend absurdity with serious criticism of society in its allusion to slavery, a much debated issue of the time. Alluding to Pope's "The Rape of the Lock," in lines 53-60 the Tankard describes a process of being dragged from its "native bed" of Potosi's mine, forced into a furnace, and branded. These images provide great hilarity when the reader realizes the Tankard refers to a kiln for producing clay Tankards like itself, yet without the Tankard's presence they invoke stygian horror. The maintenance of this "double-voiced discourse," a term Judy Little uses to describe two different, competing voices within women's humorous writing, continues to ridicule the Tankard's presence, yet also gives the poem a new kind of authority by simultaneously suggesting serious interpretations of its subversive claims.<sup>16</sup>

The sympathy established between narrator and Tankard implies that the Tankard's views must be considered at face value, a departure from traditional uses of the mock-heroic. Within the Tankard's speech, the ideas are surprisingly radical, disguised with absurd examples so that they may be transmitted safely. For example, the Tankard begins by daringly referring to "these degenerate times," but then follows with wild allusions to the volcanic Mount Etna, India's goods, and the Western and Banda Islands.<sup>17</sup> In other words, the Tankard attacks society but then blunts the accusation with vast references that scatter the reader's mind all over the British Empire. The original accusation, though, stands.

Using these examples as preludes, the Tankard manipulates the reader's skepticism as a foil to its then-serious critique of Presbyterianism. With this shield in place, a necessity for Barbauld, the Tankard critiques many aspects of Presbyterianism, including the grace that lasts longer than the meal, the lack of sexual satisfaction ("Whose moping sons no jovial orgies keep;/Where evening brings no summons—but to sleep") and yearly drudgery ("one long Lent involves the meagre year").<sup>18</sup> That the narrator neither interrupts this procession of ideas nor critiques it afterwards implies that this critique is worthy of serious consideration.

The narrator also helps the Tankard critique Presbyterianism by referring to its rituals in seemingly neutral but actually disparaging contexts. It has been established that the Tankard critiques several aspects of society; less clear, however, is the narrator's role as critic. By proximity, in Part 1 the narrator suggests that water is unfit for the meal. In the lines

The tankard stood, replenish'd to the brink  
With the cold beverage blue-ey'd Naiads drink.  
But lo! a sudden prodigy appears  
And our chill'd hearts recoil with startling fears<sup>19</sup>

line 20 implies that the poets' hearts were already chilled before they recoiled at the Tankard's sudden speaking ability. Since water is the most recently-mentioned element, and since it is "cold," it must be responsible for the chilled hearts.

The narrator's disapproving description of the Sybil also aids the Tankard in critiquing Presbyterianism, stunted sexuality, and women's limitations in general. During its speech, the Tankard nostalgically remembers "The portly Alderman, the stately Mayor,/And all the furry tribe my worth declare," and then humorously idealizes a gluttonous scene:

Bear me, ye pow'rs! to some more genial scene,  
Where on soft cushions lolls the gouty Dean,  
Or rosy Prebend, with cherubic face,  
With double chin, and paunch of portly grace,  
Who lull'd in downy slumbers shall agree  
To own no inspiration but from me.<sup>20</sup>

Here, gout, a disease associated with abundant eating and drinking, necessitates an attractive condition of soft relaxation. The reader laughs at these characters out of familiarity and the notion that such indulgence could be idealized. Yet the narrator strengthens the appeal of this scene by describing the Sybil, who appears eight lines later, as "furrow'd o'er with years".<sup>21</sup> Whereas "furry" recalls the same soft comfort that the Dean and Prebend enjoy, "furrow'd o'er" denotes facial wrinkles, demarcations associated with age and worry, that "cherubic" faces lack. Like the unfortunate poets, she is also "damp" and "chilled," implying both sexual frigidity, and intellectual potential that has been frozen out of her over time. The narrator's constructed contrast between older men and women furthers the Tankard's critique of these issues.

The poem's lack of closure also suggests that the intention behind Barbauld's mock-heroic construct is subversive. McCarthy sums up the poem's end by writing, "Chastised and regulated, the Tankard shuts up".<sup>22</sup> The last two lines, however, suggest that the Tankard has not shut up for good and may reappear in the future: "Yet still low mummings creep along the ground,/And the air vibrates with the silver sound".<sup>23</sup> Potosi's mine, birthplace of the Tankard, is a silver mine, establishing that the Tankard is formed from the "nobler metal" of silver. The final silver vibrations imply, therefore, an unsilenced, ennobled Tankard, a return to roots, and a possibility of future freedom. Moreover, in line two the narrator stresses that the reader must possess "a reverent ear," which suggests the vibrations are faint but audible to a careful listener. Unresolved endings, a common feature in women's writings, have often been misinterpreted as women's inability to properly end the piece, yet these endings suggest more possibilities and greater freedom.<sup>24</sup> Barreca notes that "what so often has appeared as submission is really refusal. What has been seen as solemnity is really the heartfelt, limitless nature of women's laughter".<sup>25</sup> The "silver sound," a noise akin to the tinkling of laughter, suggests that the Tankard gets the last laugh.

Like "The Groans of the Tankard," "The Mouse's Petition" employs an unusual speaker, a mouse, to state its claims. By citing, in a forward manner, its free birth, the merits of compassion and pity, and other rational arguments, the speaker pleads for its freedom. Without the mock-heroic device of a talking mouse, this poem would read as an overt call to end all forms of slavery. Barbauld initially "published" this poem by placing it in a mouse's cage in her friend Dr. Joseph Priestly's laboratory. Upon finding it, he set the mouse free, yet due to the mock-heroic camouflage, it is doubtful that any readers would have the same reaction toward human slaves. The variety of reactions to the poem by Barbauld's contemporaries reflects this uncertainty; *Critical Review* interpreted the poem as "an attack on experimental philosophers"; Mary Wollstonecraft selected it for her *Female Reader*; and schoolchildren frequently had to memorize it. With the possible exception of Wollstonecraft, the central issue of slavery is lost on Barbauld's audiences due to Barbauld's safety device.

Barbauld's disguise hinges upon the speaker. The choice of not only a non-human speaker, but a mouse, enables potentially hostile readers to laugh off the poem's overt cry for freedom from slavery. Consider the effect if, for example, Barbauld had allowed a lion to roar for its freedom.

The mouse's inconsequence is reiterated in the motto, an allusion to *The Aeneid*: "To spare the humbled, and to tame in war the proud."<sup>26</sup> This line implies that the humbled should be distinguished from the proud, who deserve their punishment, thus limiting the scope of the claim and making its author appear more conservative.

The poem's opening word affirms the presence of the mock-heroic and tempers the argument for freedom that might otherwise pose a threat. The first word, "Oh!" reminds us of the exclamation in "The Groans of the Tankard, "But lo!" in sound and effect.<sup>27</sup> As an exclamation, it resists analysis, and when it reappears to open the fourth stanza, invites laughter. By this point in the poem, the reader has identified that the speaker is a rodent, whose "Oh!" is probably the loudest, grandest exclamation it can eke out. The poem's twin cries serve the same purpose as the twin cries (and multiple groans) of "The Groans of the Tankard"; they suggest that the poem functions to amuse rather than plead, and thus mask the call for freedom.

The speaker's self-descriptions indicate that it is well-educated, which generates humor rather than respect because of its species. The mouse's self-description as a "pensive prisoner" implies a great deal of time spent thinking, a condition of any prisonhood but not one associated with a mouse caught in a trap. The second self-reference exacerbates the mockery by alluding to political tracts of the day with the lines, "Let not thy strong oppressive force/A free-born mouse detain".<sup>28</sup> The epithet, "a free-born mouse" interrupts an otherwise pithy argument for freedom with the absurdity of considering a mouse's rights. This example demonstrates how one word in certain spots alters the tone from sincerity to mockery. The epithet parodies a political phrase popular in Barbauld's time, "free-born Englishman," used as a rationale for resisting authority in at least one contemporary publication.<sup>29</sup> Here the mock-heroic reassures the reader that Barbauld is not venturing into politics; had she written "a free-born woman detain," her conservative readers might have responded with mockery, but it would have been a mockery responding to a threatening, genuine argument for women's freedom, rather than a phrase meant to induce humor.

The poem builds in humor as the mouse aggrandizes itself, another tactic by which the reader could be assured of the poem's non-threat to the status quo. Stanza nine's cautionary lines, "Beware, lest in the worm you crush/A brother's soul you find" heightens the mockery by the binary "worm" and "brother".<sup>30</sup> Here is a case where this juxtaposition could be located in any anti-slavery poem without needing words changed, yet because Barbauld's mock-heroic approach to the speaker has by this point been thoroughly established, these lines need no overt reference to the speaker's mousehood in order to provoke humor. The use of "worm" connotes a poor, meager creature, but provokes hilarity when noting that the mouse chooses to use this metaphor for itself, already a poor, meager creature!

The final stanza's tone of supplication completes Barbauld's disguise. In his essay, "Configurations of Feminine Reform: The Woman Writer and the Tradition of Dissent," Marlon Ross correctly notes how the poem's earlier aggressive arguments for freedom combine in the last stanza with submissive prayer.<sup>31</sup> This interweaving confirms to Barbauld's potentially-critical reader that the poem does not threaten the status quo. Further reinforcing the poem's unassumingness is the punning end of the final two lines: "May some kind angel clear thy path,/ And break the hidden snare," inspiring levity rather than serious consideration.<sup>32</sup>

In "The Mouse's Petition," Barbauld adopts a style suited to her speaker and further protecting herself. The clipped ballad form, and the fact that all twelve stanzas except stanza four contain perfect end rhyme, give the poem a squeaky clarity and organization. In addition, while the mouse establishes its education credentials in several aforementioned places, it nevertheless favors small, often single-syllabic words that fall straight into place without expanding the meter. These aspects reinforce the speaker's ridiculous persona throughout, and thus protect the author from her contemporary readers taking the poem's claims seriously.

As in "The Groans of the Tankard," however, the pleas for slavery are open and strong when considered apart from their mousy speaker. References to "a tyrant's chain" and "thy strong oppressive force" reveal aspects of slavery's severity.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the notion that the humble deserve to live and prosper, content with free but simple lives, accords with themes from Barbauld's fellow Romantic poets, particularly Wordsworth. In particular, the stanza

The well taught philosophic mind  
To all compassion gives;  
Casts round the world an equal eye,  
And feels for all that lives<sup>34</sup>

combines praise for educated readers with instruction for the function of their education, a compelling argument. We also know that Barbauld opposed slavery; in addition to her aforementioned pamphlet advocating the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, she also wrote to her brother John Aikin about her dismay over the chained galley-slaves in the Arsenal at Toulon.<sup>35</sup> These gleanings suggest that a reader look beyond the poem's ridiculous front and examine it as a genuine argument against slavery.

Whereas the mock-heroic usually functions as satire by treating trivial subjects grandly or ridiculously, Barbauld's use of the device for both poems functions as self-protection, a nontraditional, and feminist, use of the device. Her history of critical rejection for more overtly political writings suggests a need for self-defense, which in Barbauld's case takes the form of disguise. According to Eileen Gillooly's dissertation on Austen's, Gaskell's, and Eliot's use of humor, the coexistence of covert attack upon the law and social order, and self-defense within women's humor, is not uncommon.<sup>36</sup> Barbauld achieves this important dichotomy through the mock-heroic, a device that served to distract her readers' attention, but should retain ours and promote future study.

## NOTES

- 1 Mary Poovey, "The Proper Lady," *The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994) 36-7.
- 2 William McCarthy, "'We Hoped the Woman Was Going to Appear': Repression, Desire, and Gender in Anna Letitia Barbauld's Early Poems," *Romantic Women Writers: Voices and Countervoices*, ed. Paula R. Feldman and Theresa M. Kelley (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1995) 117.
- 3 Marlon B. Ross, "Configurations of Feminine Reform: The Woman Writer and the Tradition of Dissent," *Revisioning Romanticism: British Women Writers, 1776-1837*, ed. Carol Shiner Wilson and Joel Haefner (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 1994) 99.
- 4 qtd. Betsy Rodgers, *Georgian Chronicle: Mrs. Barbauld and Her Family* (London: Methuen, 1958) 110.
- 5 qtd. Rodgers 140-1.
- 6 Barbara Olive, "Women Satirists of the Eighteenth Century: Toward a New Aesthetic?" *Proceedings of the First Dakotas Conference on Earlier British Literature*, ed. Jay Ruud (Aberdeen, SD: Northern State University Press, 1993, vii) 96.
- 7 Olive 99.
- 8 Anna Letitia Barbauld, "The Groans of the Tankard," *The Poems of Anna Letitia Barbauld*, ed. William McCarthy and Elizabeth Kraft (Athens: Georgia University Press, 1994) 60.
- 9 Barbauld "Groans" 60-1.
- 10 Barbauld "Groans" 60.
- 11 Barbauld "Groans" 62.
- 12 Barbauld "Groans" 60.
- 13 Barbauld "Groans" 62.

- 13 Regina Barreca, *They Used to Call Me Snow White, But I Drifted: Women's Strategic Use of Humor* (New York: Viking, 1991) 25.
- 14 Barbauld "Groans" 62.
- 15 McCarthy 293.
- 16 qtd. Gail Finney, Introduction, *Look Who's Laughing: Gender and Comedy* (Pennsylvania: Gordon and Breach, 1991) 7-8.
- 17 Barbauld "Groans" 61.
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- 25 Barreca Introduction 17.
- 26 qtd. Barbauld *Poems* 245.
- 27 Barbauld "Mouse" 36.
- 28 Barbauld "Mouse" 36.
- 29 Barbauld *Poems* 245.
- 30 Barbauld "Mouse" 37.
- 31 Ross 101.
- 32 Barbauld "Mouse" 37.
- 33 Barbauld "Mouse" 36.
- 34 Barbauld "Mouse" 36.
- 35 Rodgers 95.
- 36 Eileen Gillooly, *Smiles of Discontent: Feminized Humorous Discourse in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (Diss. Columbia University. 1993. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1993. 9333771) 13.

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# INVOLVEMENT AND FRAGMENTATION: WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FACE-TO-FACE AND ELECTRONIC\* DISCUSSION

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## ABSTRACT

It has been suggested that the use of CACD (Computer-Assisted Class Discussion) provides opportunities for developing interactive competence in a second language. However, how much interaction can we expect on computers? This study investigates the linguistic and pragmatic differences of "relative involvement" in Japanese discourse between face-to-face and electronic discussion<sup>1</sup> using a real-time computer application, Daedalus InterChange. Interpersonal involvement is examined by counting the frequency of the non-referential particle *ne*, which is crucial to Japanese conversation and is claimed to function as an involvement marker.

The results of the study suggest that the fragmented nature of Japanese discourse in face-to-face situations provides a wide range of linguistic environments in which the speaker can promote the use of *ne*, which creates high involvement in such discussions. In contrast, it appears that there are some limitations on the use of *ne* in the interactional environment created by CACD.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 What is CACD, and how is Daedalus InterChange a tool for CACD?

Computer-Assisted Class Discussion (CACD)<sup>2</sup> is text-based and computer-mediated real-time interaction, which has been popular since the late 1980s. Daedalus InterChange<sup>3</sup> is one of several commonly-used computer programs for CACD, and facilitates real-time written communication between persons working at separate computers. Daedalus allows participants to engage in synchronous, collaborative, written discussion on a chosen topic, allowing them "instant access to all messages as they are generated by the group" (Kern, 458). Scholars such as Sullivan have adapted CACD (using Daedalus) for first-language composition, and Beauvois, Chun, and Kelm have adapted it for use in general second-language development. These scholars praise the "effective" environment CACD provides language learners, discussed by Warschauer in *Computer-mediated collaborative learning: Theory and practice* (1996), which is claimed to enhance equal participation, a stress-free environment, and student motivation.<sup>4</sup>

The language used in computer-mediated communication (CMC) has also been of particular interest to scholars. For example, Chun claims that "CACD provides excellent opportunities for foreign language learners to develop discourse skills and interactive competence" (28), and expresses hope that "the written competence gained from CACD can gradually be transferred to the students' speaking competence as well" (29), because "the [written] sentences strongly resemble what would be said in a spoken conversation" (29).<sup>5</sup>

How close a resemblance does the text-based discourse in CACD have to the spoken discourse created in face-to-face discussion? One of the main differences between them is that in the environment of CACD, communication takes the form of reading-writing activities mediated by the computer. In other words, the "speaker" expresses himself through writing, without direct contact with "listeners". In contrast, face-to-face interaction is a direct listening-speaking activity, which allows for paralinguistic features such as tone of voice, nodding, gazing, head movement or pauses that can affect the speaker's discourse. For example, nodding, an example of back-channeling behavior, often prompts speakers to continue their talking (Maynard, *Japanese Conversation*, 159) and head movement is found to serve various functions such as back-channel and clause boundary/turn-end claim (Maynard, *Japanese Conversation*, 191).

Though CACD is text-based, it is also different from what is called 'written language,' which is asynchronous and essentially one-way communication. CACD allows us to interact with each other more easily because it is synchronous (real-time) communication. To some extent, participants can share time and space in CACD. For example, senders may receive input (messages) at any time, which may cause them to alter or delete what they are composing before sending it, and they can expect an immediate response to their messages. In this sense, CACD simultaneously offers features of both written and spoken discourse: planned discourse as with other written forms, and synchronous two-way communication as with spoken forms.

In this paper, I will compare the use of *ne* as an involvement marker in both face-to-face discussion and in CACD. Since CACD is claimed to have features of both written and spoken language, I will first review the differences between these modes in the following section.

## 1.2 Written vs. spoken language

The differences between written and spoken language have been discussed for quite a long time.<sup>6</sup> Previous scholars mainly discussed the morphosyntactic differences<sup>7</sup> between these two modes. Tannen<sup>8</sup>, and other scholars such as Ochs<sup>9</sup> and Chafe<sup>10</sup>, however, have offered a broad range of research studies which approach this issue from new angles, including the distinction between planned and unplanned discourse, and between involvement and detachment. For example, in *Relative focus on involvement in oral and written discourse*, Tannen claims that the differences between written and spoken language stem from relative interpersonal involvement, not "oral and literate strategies" (124) as generally assumed.

Some discourse analysts in Japanese, such as Clancy and Maynard, examine the differences between the written and spoken modes of that language from the point of relative involvement. For example, Clancy<sup>11</sup>, discussing the linguistic differences between written and spoken Japanese discourse, mentioned that different particles in Japanese express "the speaker's attitude, the illocutionary force of the message, and concern for the listener's comprehension" (61), saying that "this is a question of 'involvement'" (61), which may not be found in written language. Maynard claimed that "social packaging expressions offer Japanese conversational discourse an orientation toward a greater degree of involvement" (*Japanese Conversation*, 44).

Clancy and Maynard also looked at fragmentation in Japanese conversational discourse. For example, Clancy mentioned that the "highly fragmented quality of spoken Japanese, ..., is perhaps the greatest difference between oral and written communication in that language" (73). Maynard noted that sentence-final particles, including *ne*, are used "in such a way that fragmentation is emphasized and made prominent" (*Japanese Conversation*, 22). Among such particles, the use of *ne* has been seen to be crucial as an involvement marker. Here, I will review literature analyzing the reason why *ne* is considered to be such a marker.

## 1.3 *Ne* as an involvement marker

Cook analyzes the use of *ne* as an index for affective common ground. The use of *ne* seems to create an identifiable shared style similar to that which Tannen calls "high-involvement". Cook argues that such usage creates an emotional tie among the participants in the conversation, and that frequent use of *ne* reinforces the relationship.<sup>12</sup> In this sense, the use of *ne* directly promotes what Chafe categorized as "involvement of the speaker with the hearer"<sup>13</sup> (*Linguistic differences produced by differences between speaking and writing*, 116).

Maynard specifically claims that one of the most frequently occurring particles<sup>14</sup>, *ne(e)*, functions to provide "rapport" (as suggested by Uyeno). This particle occurs not only in sentence-final positions but also at Pause bounded Phrasal Unit (PPU) boundaries, and its use by interactants

helps intensify the level of involvement between conversation participants (*Japanese Conversation*, 30). In *Discourse Modality*, Maynard focuses on the sentence-final position, where the function of *ne* is "person-interaction-oriented" (de-emphasizing information), and contrasts it with another interactional particle, *yo*, which is "object-information-oriented" (focused on information) (208).

Thus, scholars have proposed that *ne* is one of the involvement markers in Japanese, used to involve hearers by creating emotional ties between the interlocutors, as Cook concluded (543). Through the frequent use of *ne* as an involvement marker, it can be said that interlocutors try to establish affective common ground. Therefore, I will take *ne* as a measure of involvement in discourse among interlocutors, both in face-to-face discussion and in electronic discussion (which uses written text).

#### 1.4 Relative involvement in CACD vs. spoken discourse

While there has already been research done on the linguistic differences between electronic and spoken language, none of them has given attention to the differences between them in relative involvement. This is a new way of looking at CACD, and information on these differences may be crucial to the question of validity in the use of computers in the second-language classroom, especially if competence in writing is expected to be transferred to speaking competence as Chun (29) hopes.

In the mixed-mode environment of CACD created through InterChange, which uses both written text and real-time two-way interaction, how do Japanese native speakers use the involvement marker *ne* in conversational discourse, compared with face-to-face discussion? The research questions I will pose regarding this topic are:

- 1) Does the use of the non-referential particle *ne* as a conversational device to express involvement among participants occur in the case of CACD?
- 2) If so, how often can *ne* be seen in CACD, as compared to face-to-face discussion?
- 3) Are there any differences in the discourse function of *ne* between face-to-face discussion and CACD?

## 2. METHOD

### 2.1. Participants

The participants in the study are 16 native speakers of Japanese, four males and 12 females enrolled at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. The students are from various places in Japan, and their majors include Japanese language and linguistics, ESL, and agriculture. Half of the participants are over thirty years old and the others are in their twenties. Almost half of the participants have stayed more than two years in English-speaking countries, such as Canada and the United States, and the others, less than two years. As the participants were gathered on a volunteer basis, they were not selected at random. However, the results of the study were analyzed by statistical tests that use repeated measures (because in this case, the same participant population is used for both the CACD and face-to-face discussion experiments). Since the two modes of communication by the same participants were compared, individual variation is minimized, and we may expect to more easily observe differences between face-to-face discussion and CACD if any exist.

## 2.2. Materials

One taperecorder with an external microphone was used to record face-to-face discussions in a small classroom (at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa). CACD was carried out on Macintosh computers situated in a language lab.

The software used here for CACD was Daedalus InterChange, a synchronous, real-time network application. This program allows students at individual computers to send messages concurrently to all of the members of the discussion group to which they are assigned. At the same time, they can read the messages sent from other members of their discussion group.

Because of the differing orthography between Japanese and English (the "native" language of these computer systems), the user of InterChange in Japanese is required to type text in "romanized Japanese", then convert it to Japanese characters (*hiragana* or *katakana*, and *kanji*). To convert romanized characters to other representations takes more time than writing in languages such as English which use an alphabet. Also, the system often automatically converts *hiragana* to incorrect *kanji*. Therefore, when I analyzed the data, I ignored misspellings and misuse of *kanji*. This misuse of *kanji* sometimes induced the laughter of participants and even became a topic of discussion, which is evidence that in CACD participants share some space.

## 2.3. Procedures

The study was conducted over the course of two days. The sixteen participants were divided into two groups. Each group participated once, on Day 1 or on Day 2. The eight participants in each group were then divided into two groups of four: an all-female group, and a two-male/two-female group. The grouping depended on the schedules of the participants. Since the selection pool for the participants was so limited, most of the groups contained some acquaintances. One group of four participants was seated in a classroom around a table for face-to-face discussion, and the other was seated at the computers in the language lab for CACD, facing a wall (rather than each other). Both groups discussed the same question, "Is there any difference between student life in the United States of America and that in Japan?". After fifteen minutes, the groups switched places and discussed the second question, "Which place do you think is easier to live in, the United States of America or Japan?". As wordprocessing through InterChange requires some practice, each subject was taught how to use the InterChange application for about five minutes before the electronic discussion started. Fifteen minutes of the discussions for both groups were recorded, starting at the beginning. In the case of face-to-face discussion, participants were tape-recorded, and with CACD, transcripts were saved.

There was no individual time limit for composing messages, so participants could write as much as they wanted within the fifteen-minute span of the data collection. This could range from one long message to a series of short ones. Participants could first compose each message in full before sending it and having others see it. As they were seated facing a wall, they could not see each other's facial expressions. Since they were in the same room, they could hear sounds from others such as laughter. However, they were instructed not to speak with each other.

## 3. RESULTS

### 3.1. Quantitative results

The face-to-face discussions were transcribed, and the CACD sessions were printed out. The participants' use of the non-referential particle *ne* in each of the four discourse samples was examined quantitatively as well as qualitatively. The data were evaluated by counterbalanced observational repeated measure. *Ne* occurred 367 times in face-to-face discussion and 25 times in

CACD, during a total of 60 minutes of discussion in each mode. The frequency of the particle *ne* is represented by the rate per 1,000 words.<sup>15</sup> The results are summarized in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics (n=16)

	Mean	SD	Std. Error	Minimum	Maximum
<b>CACD</b> total words	140.1	59.0	14.8	68	274
raw number of <i>ne</i>	1.6	1.7	0.4	0	5
rate of <i>ne</i> /1000 words	11.1	11.8	3.0	0	34.2
<b>face-to-face</b> total words	727.4	565.61	41.4	75	2198
raw number of <i>ne</i>	20.8	15.8	4.0	4	56
rate of <i>ne</i> /1000 words	33.7	16.3	4.1	7.3	66.1

It can be seen that the total number of words per subject is larger in the face-to-face discussion than in the CACD session. The mean total words in the face-to-face situation (727.4) is five times greater than that of CACD (140.1). However, *ne* frequency per 1000 words in the face-to-face discussion (33.7) is only three times higher than with CACD (11.1). *Ne* frequency in the face-to-face discussion comes closer to that of CACD when we consider it as a unit with a verb stem, such as *desu ne*, a combination which is typically found in CACD. We also have to consider the individual diversity within both modalities. Depending on the individual, CACD total words varies from 68 to 274, and *ne* per 1000 words varies from 0 to 34.2. In face-to-face discussion, total words varies from 75 to 2198, and *ne* per 1000 words, from 7.3 to 66.1.

A paired t-test<sup>16</sup> is used to compare the frequencies of *ne* between face-to-face discussion and CACD. This test indicates a significant difference, with a p-value of <.0001 (Table 2). Using this t-value and DF, we calculate that the strength of association of *ne* frequency between these modes is 72.4%. That is, 72.4% of the variability in these data can be accounted for by differences between these modes.

Table 2. Paired t-test of *ne* frequency between face-to-face discussion and CACD by subject

Hypothesized Difference = 0			
Mean difference: 22.6	DF: 15	t-value: -6.278	p-value: <0.0001

Factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) for repeated measures was performed to determine whether grouping (by sex: two female-only and two mixed, and by age: twenties and thirties), in addition to mode, might account for the variability in *ne* frequency. The results can be found in Table 3.

Table 3. Factorial ANOVA (repeated-measure) for *ne* frequency (per 1000 words)

	DF	Sum of squares	Mean square	F-value	P-value
Sex: female, mixed	1	261.3	261.3	0.765	.3891
Age: twenties, thirties	1	275.2	275.2	0.806	.3769
Sex * Age	1	79.4	79.4	0.233	.6334
Residual	28	9559.5	341.4		

Two other major variables in this experiment, grouping by age and by sex, did not affect the frequencies of *ne*, as indicated by the high p-values in the ANOVA table. Therefore, if there is a difference in frequency, it comes primarily from the differences between face-to-face discussion and CACD.

There is another difference in *ne* distribution in discourse seen between face-to-face discussion and CACD. In face-to-face discussion, there are three syntactic types of *ne* forms, as Cook (1992) also mentioned in her research using natural data: sentence-final position with verb

conjugation, independent position without any morphological conjugation with other words, and phrase-final position following a fragmentation of non-final verbal forms. In the discourse of CACD, *ne* occurred mainly in the sentence-final position with verb conjugation (88%, 22 out of 25 examples). However, in face-to-face discussion, the sentence-final particle *ne* with verb conjugation only occurred in 43.1% of the total examples of 367. The other *ne* seen in face-to-face discussion occurred independently (for example, as an interjection, *Nee*), or following a fragment, "as a result of pauses, false starts, fillers, repetitions and backtracks" (Tannen, *Oral and literate strategies*, 10) (such as *ano ne.*, *sorede ne. kyoo wa ne.*, with "*ne.*" representing *ne* followed by a pause). These distributions are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Distribution of *ne*

	face-to-face discussion		CACD	
	raw	%	raw	%
verb + <i>ne</i>	158	43.1%	22	88.0%
after a fragment	103	28.1%	2	8.0%
independent use	16	4.4%	0	0%
as an agreement token	90	24.4%	1	4%
total	367	100%	25	100%

More than one fourth of the *ne* (28.1%) occurred in a position following a fragment. I also set up another type of *ne* here. I named it "*ne* of agreement token," which is also a type of assessment token, such as "*soo desu ne*" ("You are right." or "I will agree with you."), which rarely occurred in the CACD sessions.

Examining the distribution of *ne* from Table 4, *ne* after a fragment and *ne* showing agreement seem to account for most of the differences in *ne* frequency between face-to-face discussion and CACD. In Table 5, it can be seen that when we compare only one type of *ne*, that of a sentence-final particle with verb conjugation, the p-value of the paired t-test between modalities increases to 0.148 (Table 6), which indicates that there is likely no significant difference in this usage between these two channels.

Table 5: Descriptive Statistics (n=16)

	Mean	SD	Std. Error	Minimum	Maximum
face-to-face verb + <i>ne</i> raw	8.3	5.3	1.3	2	18
verb + <i>ne</i> /1000 words	16.9	13.2	3.3	2.1	53.3

Table 6. Paired t-test of frequency of verb + *ne* in face-to-face discussion versus CACD

Hypothesized Difference = 0			
Mean difference: 5.8	DF: 15	t-value: -1.525	p-value: 0.1480

So far, statistical analysis showed that there is a significant difference in *ne* frequency between face-to-face discussion and CACD. *Ne* frequency is not affected by speakers' age or sex but mainly by differences between these two modes. The difference in the distribution of *ne* occurrences between these two modes, however, seems related to *ne* frequency. In the following section, I will examine more closely the linguistic environment where *ne* is used in the data.

### 3.2. Discourse Analysis

From the quantitative analysis, we can see that *ne* frequency is much lower in CACD than in face-to-face discussion. However, are there any differences of discourse function of *ne* between the two modes? To examine this question, I will discuss at first some uses of *ne*: Not often seen in CACD were *ne* after a fragment, independent *ne* and *ne* as an expression of agreement. In the final section of this analysis, I will discuss *ne* use in CACD.

3.2.1. *Ne* after a fragment

I use the term 'fragment' to mean some periodic, or semantic, break other than the normal sentence-final form which, in Japanese, includes a conjugated verb. This type of usage occupied nearly 30% of all uses of *ne* in face-to-face discussion, but only 8% in CACD.

Example 1. From the data on face-face discussion: M is talking about education in the United States. In lines 1, 2, 4, and 6, M uses *ne* after a fragment:

- 1 M: Chicchai ko no. kyooiku kara mite mo *ne*. (From the children's educational perspective...)
- 2 M: Yappari. moo. chicchai ko ga jibun no iken o chanto iinasai toka *ne* (...even small children should express their own opinions and...)
- 3 B: Un.
- 4 M: iya dattara iya datte iinasai toka. soo yuu koto o sugoku *ne* (...if they do not like it, they should say no and...)
- 5 B: Un.
- 6 M: de yoochien nanka. jibun no musume tsuretette mo *ne*. (...at the preschool...when we take our daughter there...)
- 7 A: Uun.
- 8 M: Un. Yappari ano nanka naitete mo sensee wa tasukenai no *ne*. (...well, even if she was crying, the teachers would not help her.)

Note that M received "backchanneling" three times out of four when he used *ne* after fragments in this discourse segment. Cook analyzed this feature, and stated that "*ne* can only solicit *aizuchi* (back-channel expressions), verbal or non-verbal cues that signal that the addressee is following what the speaker says" (514).

Backchanneling in Japanese indicates not only that the listener is following the speaker's story, but can also show that he/she agrees with the speaker (Maynard, *Japanese Conversation*, 171).<sup>17</sup> In Example 2, K shows her agreement with C in line 4 after C uses *ne* (in line 3).

Example 2. From the data on face-to-face discussion: C, B and K are talking about school life in Japan.

- 1 C: Demo hora sukoshi wa hora sensee-tachi mo! Hai migigawa! Toka yuu desho. (But, you see, teachers also tell us, "Walk on the right side.")
- 2 B: Soo desu *ne*. (Yes, you are right.)
- 3 C: Hashiccha ikemasen toka *ne*. (And, "Don't run," or something like that.)
- 4 K: Un un. hashittetara okorarechau shi sa. (Yes, they would scold us if we ran.)

*Ne* used with fragments, and back-channel behavior after *ne*, creates intimate psychological 'rapport,' as Uyeno suggested (131-132). The speaker who uses *ne* also expects the listener's agreement with the information that the speaker has presented so far. As in line 3, this usage can invite additional participation by the listener (who has just indicated agreement with the speaker, in line 2). Therefore, insertion of the particle *ne* after a fragment opens opportunities for the listeners to contribute. It elicits back-channeling, invites participation and involvement, and/or checks if the listeners follow or agree with the speaker.

3.2.2. Independent *Ne*

*Ne* often occurred independently in face-to-face discussion, such as *Ne*, or *Nee*, but did not occur in this form in the CACD data. Cook described its two functions as "an attention getter" and "a



marker of shared feelings.” In my data, *ne* as an attention getter was not seen even in the face-to-face discussion, but *ne* as a marker of shared feeling occurred 16 times in face-to-face discussion.

In the following, Y and H are talking about a cultural difference between Japan and the United States, and Y uses independent *Nee* after H agrees with Y’s opinion (line 2):

Example 3.

- 1 Y: Amerika no. bunka o mitete. sorezore no hitori no. kenri toka. ishiki toka ne. taisetsu ni shiyoo to suru. sore ga gen’in de. gisugisu shite kiteru tokoro ga. kanari. aru kara ne. (In American culture, people put priority on their own rights and ideas. And for this reason, life here tends to include various conflicts.)  
 2 H: Umm. Arimasu ne. (Umm, yes, it does, doesn’t it?)  
 → 3 Y: *Nee*. (Right?)

By showing their agreement with what Y said (which H has indicated in line 2 and Y has acknowledged in line 3), Y and H are creating shared feeling through the mutual use of *ne*.

### 3.2.3. Expression of agreement

Expression of agreement with the interlocutor by the use of *ne* can be seen frequently. In my data, more than 20% of *ne* falls into this type of use. The following are examples:

Example 4.

- 1 M: Kihonteki ni are desho. Mazu disukasshon amari shinai desho? (Basically, uh, we do not do much discussion in class, right?)  
 → 2 H: Soo desu *ne*. (Right.)

Example 5.

- 1 R: Tokoroga chigau n da yo *ne*. (But it is different here.)  
 → 2 Y: Chigau yo *ne* tashika ni *ne*. (Yes, it sure is different.)  
 → 3 E: Chigau yo *ne*. (Yes, it is different.)

In Example 4, H chooses the expression “*soo*,” which indicates assessment of, and full agreement with, what M said. In Example 5, by repeating the same phrase used by the speaker, the listener gives another indication of agreement, creates an emotional connection, and shows high involvement. These kinds of use of *ne* also occurred often in face-to-face discussion (90 out of 367 instances of *ne*).

### 3.2.4. *Ne* use in CACD

As 88% of the *ne* use in the CACD discourse is combined with the sentence-final verb form, we see that *ne* is generally used in propositions. This is much different from the use of *ne* after fragments or as a token of agreement, because utterances containing these forms often have no propositional content. For example:

Example 6. O asked the participants if they thought of the future when they were college students in Japan.

- 1 Y: Shoorai no koto wa, yonen no hajime kurai ni natte, kangaeta ka naa. (I began to think of the future about when I became a senior, I believe.)

- 2 O: Arigatoo gozaimashita. (Thank you so much.)  
 → 3 R: Shourai no koto wa ano nenrei to kankyou de wa muzukashikatta desu *ne*. (It was difficult for me to think of the future at that age and in my environment at that time.)

In this case, R expressed her own opinion rather than showing agreement. In line 1, Y commented that she began to think about the future when she was a senior, but R responded that it was difficult to think of the future in her own situation at that time. R used *ne* here to mitigate the face threatening act of forcing her opinion on others, while also trying to create some rapport. Maynard notes that this use of *ne* "defocuses information and instead calls attention to interpersonal feelings to assure some level of emotional engagement" (*Discourse Modality*, 215). Such *ne* were often seen with sentence-final verb forms (with verb conjugation) in the CACD data.

*Ne* can be used to show more direct involvement with the other participant:

Example 7. Here E shows that she shares some information with R and expresses that they have some rapport.

- 1 R: Daigaku no toki wa inaka ni sunde ita kara tokai no daigakusei yori mo sukoshi wa benkyou shita kamo shiremasen. Datte, hoka ni asobu koto ga nai kara. (As I was living in a rural area when I was in college, I might have studied more than the students in the urban area, because there are no other things to do.)  
 → 2 E: Sokka, Tsukuba da mon *ne*. (I see. I know you went to Tsukuba, right?)

Here, E uses *ne* to express that rapport exists between them, because she already shares some personal information with R.

In the qualitative analysis section, I examined four different uses of *ne* from my data. Differences in *ne* frequency and distribution seem to originate from the features of face-to-face discussion and CACD, though the main function of *ne*, to get the listener involved, remains the same. In the following section, I will discuss mainly the use of *ne* after fragmentation in Japanese, in face-to-face situations.

#### 4. DISCUSSION

In face-to-face discussion, the frequency of *ne* increases over that of CACD, especially with *ne* inserted after fragments and *ne* in agreement expressions. These *ne* usages promote high involvement among the participants, eliciting back-channeling and requesting positive feedback from the listener and creating rapport among participants. As Maynard claims in *Japanese conversation*, "this continuous feedback in casual conversation is the norm within the Japanese speech community" (177). Such backchanneling in turn elicits further use of *ne*. In addition, the fragmentation feature of spoken Japanese, claimed by Maynard to be the most prominent feature of conversational discourse in the language (*Japanese Conversation*, 30), increases the use of accompanying *ne* in face-to-face communication over that in CMC.

In CACD, communication is conducted in writing, with limitations in the sharing of space and time, in contrast to face-to-face communication where immediate reaction from the listeners, and paralinguistic features, influence much of what speakers say. In CACD, an utterance can be completed with much less involvement by the listeners.

*Ne* in sentence-final form with verb conjugation (the most frequent usage in CACD) generally has propositional content, in contrast with *ne* after fragments or agreement tokens, as found in speech. *Ne* is used, in this case, for mitigating the threatening act of expressing opinions, as well as eliciting others' agreement.

## 5. CONCLUSION

I have examined the use of the involvement marker *ne* in both face-to-face discussion and in CACD. In the case of face-to-face discussion, *ne* was seen to be used more frequently, reflecting the greater involvement in such discussions.

The syntactic environment of *ne* occurring in these modalities differed to some extent. The use of *ne* as a strictly sentence-final particle with verb conjugation was not significantly different in the two modalities, but the use of *ne* attached to a fragment and the use of *ne* indicating agreement were rarely seen in CACD (which is a type of written language). In the direct interaction of face-to-face discussion, stronger interpersonal involvement is demonstrated by fragmented speech and by the frequent use of *ne* for backchanneling.

This study provides some initial evidence suggesting that the intrinsic difference between synchronous face-to-face discussion and CACD stems from involvement, or more specifically, the continuous feedback provided in a face-to-face situation, as well as the fragmentation of language which elicits this feedback in spoken situations. Fragments with *ne*, more common in speech, promote feedback from the listener, and that feedback encourages additional feedback from the speaker to the listener. Chun claims that using CACD is effective for increasing interactive competence (17). But such competence in Japanese conversation depends on varieties of feedback which are decreased or lacking in CACD, and we must be careful to compensate for these differences when supplementing face-to-face discussion with CACD.

## NOTES

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- 1 In this paper, e-mail writing, which is not a form of real-time communication and more closely resembles letter writing, is outside the definition of 'electronic' language I have used here.
- 2 CACD was first used in foreign language classrooms during the 1990s.
- 3 The computer application Daedalus InterChange, one component of the Daedalus Integrated Writing Environment, was developed by the Daedalus Group, and was first implemented by the English Department at the University of Texas at Austin in 1988 (Beauvois).
- 4 See *Motivational aspects of using computers for writing and communication* for a review of studies of the motivational aspects of CACD (Warschauer, 1996).
- 5 Chun mentioned that discourse management features, such as capturing attention, taking the initiative, changing the subject or expanding on a topic, requesting clarification, giving feedback, and using social formulas, are seen in CACD (26-28).
- 6 For example, Woodbury's study in 1922, and Lull's study in 1929, reported the superiority of speaking and writing for 1-8 graders. (Cited in Chafe & Tannen).
- 7 For example, the greater frequency of subordinate clauses (Harrell, O'Donnell, and Knoll) and variety of vocabulary (Drieman and Devito) in writing. See Chafe & Tannen for a detailed bibliography on this issue.
- 8 See *Spoken and Written Language: Exploring Orality and Literacy, Oral and literate strategies in spoken and written narratives and The relation between writing and spoken language*.
- 9 See *Planned and unplanned discourse*.

- 10 See *Linguistic differences produced by differences between speaking and writing* and *The relation between writing and spoken language*.
- 11 She advocated Uyeno's view that the use of sentence-final particles, which is not common in written texts, is relevant to the hearer's participation in communication.
- 12 Cook explained as follows:  
The direct meaning of *ne*, affective common ground, is indexed every time it is used. By evoking shared feelings, the speaker enlists the addressee as an active, emotionally supportive coworker of a conversation and thus emotionally involves the addressee with the speaker. By directly indexing affective common ground, *ne* creates an affect-oriented communicative style in face-to-face interaction (520).
- 13 In *Linguistic differences produced by difference between speaking and writing*, Chafe explained three types of involvement: ego involvement, which is involvement of the speaker with himself; involvement of the speaker with the hearer, that is, concern for the dynamics of interaction with another person; and involvement of the speaker with the subject matter, that is, an ongoing personal comment on what is being talked about (116).
- 14 She identifies two types: Type I, directly related to expressing the speaker's judgement when making a statement, and Type II, whose functions are primarily grammatical (27). She focused on Type I, which has two subtypes: the particle normally occurring at the utterance initial position and functioning to warn of what follows, such as *e* and *aa*, and a class of particles used at the end of a phrase which may or may not be in the clause- and/or sentence-final position as with a "final particle" (27-28).
- 15 According to *CHILDES Manual for Japanese* (from P1-44 to P1-47), edited by Yukiko Oshima-Takane, and Brian MacWhinney from McGill University in 1995.
- 16 Here a paired t-test is used because the *ne* frequency is converted to a scale of ratio per 1000 words and also the data was collected by repeated measure.
- 17 Maynard proposes that back-channel behavior in Japanese may be specified at least according to six features: continuer, display of understanding of content, support toward the speaker's judgement, agreement, strong emotional response, and minor addition, correction, or request for information (171).

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# THE DEFINITENESS EFFECT IN ENGLISH EXPLETIVE 'THERE'

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## ABSTRACT

The Definiteness Effect has been considered as a property of the expletive *there*-construction. What is the relation between the Definiteness Effect and the expletive *there*? Is the Definiteness Effect syntactic or semantic? The goal of this paper is to review the Definiteness Effect and to examine how it is treated in the latest enterprise of syntactic theory, the Minimalist Program by Chomsky (1995).

## INTRODUCTION

The intent of this study is to examine the phenomenon called 'the Definiteness Effect' (hereafter DE) found in the English expletive *there*-construction within the framework of Chomsky (1995). The DE has been discussed by many linguists within different frameworks for over a decade. In Chomsky (1995), the DE is briefly mentioned in conjunction with object raising. If the DE is a semantic phenomenon, how are we to study the DE in syntax? In this study, I will explore some of the various syntactic analyses that have been proposed for the DE and their implications both for other syntactic phenomena and for the argument that the DE is a semantic phenomenon.

### 1. DEFINITION OF THE DEFINITENESS EFFECTS

Compare the following two sentences:

- (1) a. There is a man in the garden.
- b. \* There is the man in the garden.

The grammaticality of (1a) and the ungrammaticality of (1b) are said to be due to the DE. The DE<sup>1</sup> (originally called the Definiteness Restriction by Milsark<sup>2</sup> (1976)) is placed on the NP (Noun Phrase) in existential *there*-constructions. According to Milsark, this particular NP in a postverbal position must exclude "syntactically definite determiners" (117), including the definite article, *the*, possessivized NP determiners, demonstratives, and universal quantifiers (e.g., *all*, *every*, *each*, *both*). Thus *there*-constructions require a postverbal NP to be an indefinite NP. This definition of the DE does not raise much disagreement among linguists. It is a well-known, accepted notion. However, there has been much discussion and argument regarding the semantic interpretation of the DE.

Milsark poses the following questions with regard to the DE: "What is the nature of the notion of definiteness which most adequately characterizes the data? Is it morphological, syntactic, or semantic? . . . Finally, why on earth should exactly this restriction (DE) be placed on the NP in ES (existential sentences), out of all the possible statements about NP's that one can imagine?" (95). We need to keep those questions in mind for further discussion in this study.

### 2. SOME PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS FOR THE DE

**2.1. Lakoff (1987).** Lakoff's contribution to analyses of the *there*-construction is his separate treatment of an existential *there* and a deictic *there* respectively (NB: We are concerned with the existential *there* in this study). Lakoff adopts Fauconnier's (1985) idea of mental space and claims that an "existential *there* designates a mental space." He states that "the existential is generally concerned with conceptual existence, which may or may not coincide with 'real' physical existence" (543). In short, an existential *there* deals with abstractions and introduces a *new* entity. One of the predictions that follows from his hypothesis is that "the noun phrase is not both definite and

specific" (545).<sup>3</sup> It is clear where the DE comes from in Lakoff's analysis: the semantics of abstractions requires an indefinite NP.

**2.2. Belletti (1988).** Belletti's argument for the DE is based on the unaccusative hypothesis: unaccusatives (e.g., *arise, arrive, develop, happen*, etc.), passives, and *be* can assign inherent partitive Case to a postverbal NP optionally. One of the structures where those verbs are found is in *there*-constructions. Semantically, partitive Case is only compatible with indefinite NPs (Haegeman 1994, 326). Because of that particular property of partitive Case, partitive Case<sup>4</sup> in a *there*-construction bears the DE.

### 3. SYNTACTIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EXPLETIVE AND THE ASSOCIATE

The DE has been treated as a unique phenomenon derived from existential *there*-constructions. Most accounts consider the DE as a byproduct of discussion on *there*-constructions. In order to understand this phenomenon, we must first understand particular functions and properties of existential *there*-constructions. Depending on how we treat existential *there*-constructions, our view regarding the DE will vary.

For the past few years, much of the discussion on *there*-constructions seems to be devoted to the syntactic relations between the expletive and the associate. In the following section, I will focus on those syntactic relations and the minimalist accounts of existential *there*-constructions and the DE.

**3.1. The Minimalist Program.** In Chomsky's 1993 version of minimalist theory, *there* is treated as an LF (Logical Form) affix<sup>5</sup>, which requires raising of its associate (i.e., *there* and its associate are attached to each other by raising). The expletive-associate relation is summarized as follows: "the expletive and its associate conform to the locality requirements of A (Argument)-chains.<sup>6</sup> This follows from the fact that at LF, they are amalgamated to form an A-chain. Note that the locality condition on the expletive-associate pair is that of A-movement, not binding, which is permissible in the analogue to" the following example: \**a man* was thought that [pictures of *t* were on sale] (Chomsky 1995, 66 (90c)). Furthermore, the expletive-associate "must be in a relation that satisfies Condition A<sup>7</sup>, since at LF an antecedent-trace relation holds of their S (Surface)-Structure positions" (156). Note that Safir (1985) accounts for the expletive-associate relation in terms of Indefinite NP Property (INPP<sup>8</sup>) which escapes Condition C, not A.

*There* as an LF affix lacks inherent phi-features (agreement with person, number and gender) and category (e.g., noun, verb, adjective, etc.), and it is said to have the following three salient properties: 1) "an NP must appear in a certain formal relation to *there* in the construction" and it is called the associate which licenses the expletive by its presence, 2) "number agreement is not with *there* but rather with the associate," and 3) "there is an alternate form with the associate actually in the subject position after overt raising" (e.g., *A man is in the garden* vs. *There is a man in the garden*) (Chomsky 1995, 155).

In Chomsky's 1995 version of minimalist theory, some of the above notions are modified. First, raising of the associate is modified to raising of unchecked features of the associate which adjoin to I (Inflection), not to *there*. Second, the expletive *there* has neither Case nor phi-features but only contains a categorial feature [D] (Determiner) (273-287). Third, this categorial feature [D] is considered as [- Interpretable] which must be deleted by some operation. Fourth, "there is good reason to believe that the categorial feature [N] (Noun) adjoins to [D] (i.e., the [N] feature of the associate is raised to check the [D] feature of the expletive) (364).

One of the consequences of these changes is that Belletti's partitive Case theory is no longer accepted: "Since the expletive necessarily lacks Case, it must be the associate that provides

the Case in ordinary expletive constructions," and "The associate must therefore have the Case that would be borne by DP in the constructions," as follows (Chomsky 1995, 288):

- (2) a. *there is a book on the shelf* > a book is .../DP is ... (DP = nominative)  
 b. *there arrived yesterday a visitor from England* > a visitor arrived .../DP arrived ... (DP = nominative)  
 c. *I expected [there to be a book on the shelf]* > I expected a book to be .../I expected [DP to be ...] (DP = accusative)

In conjunction with expletive *there*, the DE is mentioned briefly in Chomsky (1995) as follows:

... expletive-associate constructions observe the definiteness effect and that object raising is restricted to definite (or specific) nominals. This is close enough to accurate to suggest that something of the sort may be happening. ... the definiteness effect for object raising is at best a strong tendency, and that for expletive constructions its status is unclear. It does not rule out any derivations, but rather describes how legitimate outputs are to be interpreted: either as expletive constructions with at most weakly existential implicatures, or as list constructions with strong existential interpretation. We therefore have no strong reason to suppose that the associate *cannot* be a DP (Determiner Phrase). (350)

Although Chomsky does not discard the possibility that the associate could be a DP, he states that taking the associate as an NP<sup>9</sup> could be "a factor in accounting for the definiteness effect." Furthermore, because of this property of the associate (as an NP), it remains in situ (by Procrastinate<sup>10</sup>) (342).

### *Some Questions on The Minimalist Program*

We can examine the treatment of the DE further in minimalist theory by posing two questions:

- Q1: How does the minimalist view account for the DE?  
 Q2: How should we account for N-to-D raising?

As discussed in the previous section, the DE could be explained in terms of an asymmetry between DP and NP (Q1). While expletive *there* is considered as a DP, the associate is taken as an NP which lacks definiteness (e.g., *There* [DP] *is a man* [NP] *in the garden*). This asymmetry between DP and NP is crucial for an understanding of N-to-D raising. Longobardi (1994) claims that N-to-D raising takes place in LF in English, and examines DP's and NP's. For further discussion in syntax, let us examine some of the generalizations that Longobardi presents:

Generalization 1: Structure [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>D'</sub> D NP] for DPs (Longobardi 1994, 610).

Generalization 2: DP can be an argument, NP cannot (Stowell 1989).

Under Generalization 1, NP's can be subsumed under DP's. This seems to resolve an asymmetry between NP's and DP's. Consequently, this would result in the loss of the source for the DE phenomenon in Chomsky's theory. Generalization 2 tells us that a postverbal NP in a *there*-construction cannot be an argument. This generalization implies that in the case of unaccusative verbs in *there*-constructions, a postverbal NP is not an argument. Then is *three men* in *There arrived three men* a non-argument? As we know, *three men* is an argument for the verb *arrived* in that clause. Generalization 2 is clearly problematic.

N-to-D raising is a necessary condition to fill in a gap between DP's and NP's. It is also a key to resolving the problematic notion of NP's (as non-argument) stated above. Longobardi (1994, 628) notes that "DP can certainly be licensed as an argument in most cases. . . By contrast, NP was shown not to be able to assume argument function unless introduced by an overt or empty determiner.



This fact suggests that in a structured utterance NP can only be licensed through a predicative interpretation. I propose, then, to enlarge the notion of predication so that NP can be syntactically predicated of the head<sup>11</sup> selecting it, namely, of a D.” Now compare the following two patterns to understand Longobardi’s point:

- (3) a. Old John came in.  
b. \*John old came in.

In (3a), *Old John* is an argument of the verb *came*. Under Generalization 2, it must be a DP, yet it lacks a determiner on the surface. Longobardi presents the S (Surface)-structure for *Old John* as [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>D</sub> null *Old John*], there being an empty determiner (null) which is the head of DP.

The presence of a null determiner in D<sup>12</sup> prevents *John* from raising to D (which *null* occupies in the structure) in (3b). Yet, NP *John* must raise to D in LF to be licensed as an argument. Note that English lacks visible N-raising (if it ever takes place, it must be done in LF). The important consequence is that English is able to substitute N for D in LF (641). This could be extended to justify N-to-D raising in *there*-constructions in minimalist theory (a possible answer to Q2).

To sum up, Q1 and Q2 seem to be incompatible with each other. The minimalist account for the DE seems to be based on an asymmetry between DP’s and NP’s. Yet, Longobardi’s treatment of DP’s safely subsumes NP’s under DP’s. N-to-D raising is justified under DP-analysis. Here we are left with an apparent contradiction.

In the next section, I will further examine the contradiction observed above, and attempt to propose some alternative views for the DE.

#### 4. ALTERNATIVE VIEWS

In this section, I would like to present some possible alternatives to account for the DE under Chomsky (1995) and propose several matters for future study.

##### Q1: Is *There* Really Semantically Empty?<sup>13</sup>

*There* is said to have the categorial feature [D] which is semantically empty. According to Williams (1984, 150), *there* marks the scope of existential quantifiers. Compare the following sentences for scope<sup>14</sup>:

- (4) a. *Someone is likely to be here* > both wide scope and narrow scope are available for *someone*  
b. *There is likely to be someone here* > only narrow scope is available for *someone* (Lasnik 1992, 392)

As we know, scope is determined in LF. We can infer that such scope determiners (or quantifiers) have some semantic features by nature. It is not inconceivable to suppose that quantifiers are [+ Interpretable] (i.e., “semantically interpretable”) in LF (e.g., operation of quantifier raising or QR). If we treat *there* like a quantifier, then it is [+ Interpretable] thus it does not have to be checked (see Chomsky 1995, 377 for some possible arguments for QR).

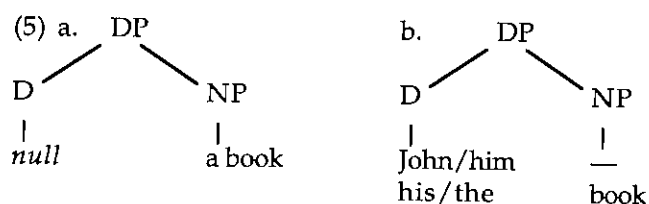
The consequences of this speculation need to be noted. First, if *there* is considered as [+ Interpretable], it would no longer need to have its [+ Interpretable] feature checked by N-to-D raising which is assumed. Second, if *there* functions like a full-fledged quantifier, it would have some operation like QR. Furthermore, *there* could be assumed to raise somewhere inside VP to adjoin to IP, instead of being merged into Spec of IP.<sup>15</sup> This stipulation causes other problems. How

should we account for the expletive-associate relation under the Bijection Principle<sup>16</sup> (Koopman & Sportiche 1981)? Is the associate treated as variable? Or the trace of *there* as variable? If the latter, then again how should we treat the associate? These problems need to be examined further.

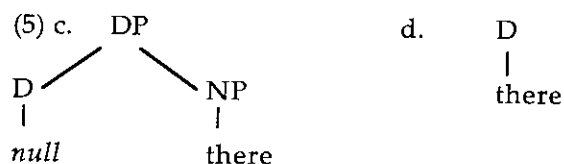
## Q2: Do DPs Subsume NPs in the Minimalist Account?

It is not clear whether Chomsky (1995) differentiates NP's from DP's in a strict sense. In his discussion on the expletive-associate relation, he states: "We therefore have no strong reason to suppose that the associate *cannot* be a DP" (350). If we subsume NP's under DP's, there will be no asymmetry in notations and configurations. In light of DP-analysis, how can we explain the DE in the Minimalist Program?

Longobardi (1994) claims that N-to-D raising takes place in LF in English, and that there is a null determiner invisible in PF (Phonetic Form). Considering the fact that an indefinite NP is the only NP occupying a postverbal position in a *there*-construction, I will tentatively propose the following structures (5a,b) by modifying de Villiers and Roeper's DP structure (1995) (Note: (5b) is identical to Chomsky's DP structure (1995)):



Notice that a definite article occupies D whereas an indefinite article does not. Taking D as a locus of referentiality, it is only natural that there is a certain difference in the treatment of a definite article and that of an indefinite article. The DE, then, is a predictable phenomenon resulting from a structural difference we can find between (5a) and (5b). That means that the structure of D is semantically important in interpreting the DE. Now compare (5c) and Chomsky's (5d):



I propose (5c) for the structure of existential *there* rather than (5d). In (5c), a locus of referentiality (D) is left empty whereas *there* occupies D in (5d). *There* in (5c) is structurally symmetrical to (5a). (See below for further discussion.)

However, there is a problem. Chomsky (1995) reserves a c-commanding<sup>17</sup> relation between the expletive and the associate (i.e., Condition A). If both the expletive and the associate are DP's, *there* cannot c-command the associate.

By taking DP's as a somewhat larger category than NP's by nature, can we think of NP's as secondary or intermediate level (cf. X vs. X' in X-bar theory)? Supposing that the presence of a null determiner in a DP legitimizes NP's secondary nature in syntax, we could take the highest DP as the first branching node for both the expletive and the associate. Combining this notion with the stipulation presented in answering Q2 (i.e., *there*'s categorial feature [D] is [+ Interpretable]), we would dispense with N-to-D raising. Furthermore, the DE could be explained in terms of feature agreement between null determiners found both in the expletive and the associate<sup>18</sup>.

### Q 3: Is Checking Done under Asymmetry?

One significance of Rizzi's (1990) *Relativized Minimality*<sup>19</sup> might be a symmetry reserved for A-to-A movement and A-bar-to-A-bar movement. This type of symmetry is also observed in *checking* (i.e., the corresponding features are checked).

In the Minimalist Program, some asymmetrical relations are observed. For example, normally categorial features are considered as [+ Interpretable], yet [D] is said to be [- Interpretable]. The expletive's categorial feature [D] is assumed to be checked by [N] of the associate (N-to-D raising). Should both [D] and [N] be taken as nominals, N-to-D raising may not be asymmetrical movement. Reserving symmetrical movement as a possibility might present some advantages [my speculation].

### Semantic Features in Syntax

Syntactic theories have been trying to explain the DE in terms of syntactic properties and movements. However, by preserving LF, the syntactic theories never leave out semantics. In the Minimalist Program, determining and defining [+ Interpretable] is a step toward incorporating syntax with semantics. I have proposed that the expletive *there* is [+ Interpretable] (semantically interpretable), and that both the expletive and the associate have a DP structure. The symmetry between the expletive and the associate (having a null determiner in D) is the source of the DE. Note that such symmetry has more important implications. If we take D as a locus of referentiality, the presence or absence of a determiner is crucial in differentiating existential *there* from deictic *there* (list reading). The structural difference in D makes those two *there*-constructions distinct from each other, and it tells us part of the reason why we interpret *there* the way we do.

### 5. CONCLUSION: A POSSIBLE INTERFACE BETWEEN SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS.

By excluding a definite postverbal NP (i.e., 'the + NP') for structural reasons, we are able to differentiate the existential *there*-constructions from the list-reading *there*-constructions (e.g., *There's the cat to feed, the dog to walk, the horse to brush, . . . / There'll be Max at the head of the table, Sally next to me, . . . / There's Harry* (Lakoff 1987, 561-2)). Such differentiation in syntax implies that there are at least two separate lexical *there* having two separate functions respectively.

Lakoff's (1987) extensive semantic studies on *there* present a diversity of *there*-constructions. He discusses the functional properties of *there*-constructions, and acknowledges the two separate *there*-constructions, namely the deictic *there*-constructions (i.e., list reading) and the existential *there*-constructions (see 2.1.). Analyzing the semantics of *there*-constructions seems to rely on a native speaker's instinct and interpretation. The native speaker knows that s/he is not using the existential *there*-constructions randomly. The existential *there* in our discourse introduces a new entity and directs our attention to a certain location (or simply the existence of a certain entity in the world). However, it is not very clear where our interpretation comes from. What enables us to differentiate one *there* from another *there*? We might say that we just know what we know, but the question is "How?".

I have discussed some crucial notions regarding the DE in this study. Our findings in syntax regarding *there* may be the source of our interpretation and may provide some answers to how we interpret and perceive the English existential *there*-constructions. We have found that the expletive *there* functions like a quantifier (or a scope marker). That means *there* is not semantically empty. Under the DP-analysis, it is possible to assume that the presence of a null determiner in the expletive is a necessary condition for the DE. The structural symmetry between *there* and a postverbal NP (or DP as I have proposed) is a key configuration. If the DE is a necessary condition for existential *there*-constructions, then we may conclude that the configuration

of the expletive determines our interpretation. By connecting structural properties (syntax) and functional properties (semantics), we might be able to see why we interpret the DE the way we do.

I have left some syntactic problems unresolved (see Note 15). However, this study is a rough sketch rather than a complete argument. *There* as a quantifier should be explored to a great extent both in syntax and semantics. Further refinement and study will be needed in the future.

## NOTES

- 1 The Definiteness Effect imposes an indefiniteness requirement on the inverted subject of unaccusative verbs (Belletti 1988, 4).
- 2 A definite NP (noun phrase) is semantically incompatible with the reading required by the existential operator except for some special cases, one of which is called *list reading* (Milsark 1976, 126).
- 3 The notion of 'definite and specific' needs more explanation. A definite NP is not necessarily the same as a specific NP: 'the + NP' could be either general or specific depending on the context. For example, in *The dog is the friend of man*, *the dog* is not necessarily a unique single entity which has a specific name, but *the dog* refers to "dogs in general" in this case. On the other hand, if we say *Two students are having lunch outside*, *two students* could be either 'two specific individuals' (i.e., specific) or 'two students with whom we are not familiar' (i.e., general), but it is always an indefinite NP.
- 4 Lasnik's (1992) view regarding partitive Case is less restrictive than Belletti's. He claims that there is a parametric difference in the treatment of partitive Case across languages: partitive Case could be treated as either inherent or structural. He concludes that Italian allows accusative verbs to assign both accusative and partitive Case whereas English does not allow a verb to have two Cases associated with it.
- 5 LF, or *Logical Form*, is a level of representation which encodes logico-semantic properties such as the scope of operators (e.g., *all*, *every*, *some*, *any*, etc.) (Haegeman 1994, 491). In Chomsky (1993), *there* is treated as a logico-semantic affix which needs to be attached to its associate (i.e., a postverbal NP in the *there*-clause).
- 6 In *John was loved t by many people*, the trace *t* marks where an object NP, *John* is located before passivization. Passivization moves *John* in the *t* position to the subject position. By connecting *t* and *John* in the subject position, we form a chain. Since the head (the position occupied by *John*) of the chain is an A(Argument)-position, it is called an A-chain. (Note: *Arguments* are the participants involved in the activity or state expressed by the predicate (Haegeman 1994, 44).)
- 7 The Binding Conditions (Chomsky 1995, 96):  
Condition A: An anaphor must be bound in a local domain.  
Condition B: A pronoun must be free in a local domain.  
Condition C: A referential expression must be free.
- 8 The Indefinite NP Property (INPP) (Safir 1985, 133): Indefinite theta-chains are optionally exempted from the Binding Conditions at S (Surface)-structure.  
Look at the following example provided by Safir:

*There is a /\*the battleship in the harbor.*

- A/\*the battleship* and *there* form a theta-chain. According to the Binding Conditions, *a/the battleship* is a referential expression and it must be free. It is bound by *there* (forming a theta-chain) thus not free. However, because of INPP, *a battleship* can escape such a violation. That makes *There is a battleship in the harbor* well-formed.
- 9 One important implication of Chomsky's account for the DE is that the list reading of *there*-constructions is derived from a symmetry between *there* as a DP and a postverbal noun as a DP.

- 10 The Procrastinate Principle (Chomsky 1995): If no movement is necessary, do not move anything at all. Covert LF movement is more economical than overt movement.
- 11 LF of an argument NP is [D[N]], where D is a lexical or empty determiner and N is a common noun (i.e., the relation between D and N is considered as the operator-variable interpretation) (Longobardi 1994, 634).
- 12 What can occupy D position besides a null determiner? According to Longobardi (1994, 637), *pronouns* and *proper nouns* can occur in D (however, *common nouns* never raise to D at S-Structure).
- 13 I posed the question of where *there* comes from, inside VP (verb phrase) or merged at Spec of IP, at the presentation. This question will be considered in the course of discussing Q1.
- 14 Williams (1984) treats *there* as a scope marker which marks the scope of an existential quantifier (narrow scope). In (6b), *there* determines the interpretation of *someone* as "There is an X such that X is likely to be here" whereas in (6a) *someone* could be interpreted either as "For every X, there is such X that is likely to be here" (wide scope interpretation) or as the same as (6b).
- 15 William O'Grady (1996) pointed out a problematic consequence: "If it originated inside VP, it would presumably be an argument and require a theta role. This seems harder to justify than the claim that it is [+ Interpretable] in some sense." If we are to treat *there* as a quantifier, *there* should be merged into Spec of IP like other quantifiers. Such treatment seems to resolve the problem regarding a theta role, but it does not resolve the operator-variable problems.
- 16 The Bijection Principle (Koopman & Sportiche 1981, 146): There is a bijective correspondence between variables and A-bar-positions (i.e., non-argument positions).
- 17 The c (constituent)-command tells what materials are dominated by one node. The c-commanding relation is a necessary condition for the Binding Conditions.
- 18 This also answers the question I posed at the presentation (Q: Can the DE be explained in syntax?). If we take a null determiner as a syntactic notion, the presence of a null determiner accounts for the DE in syntax.
- 19 Rizzi's (1990) *Relativized Minimality* requires that items in the c-command relation be of the same type. It preserves a symmetrical relation among items in movement to some extent.

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# THE SIGNIFICANCE OF NEGOTIATION OF MEANING BETWEEN LEARNERS

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## ABSTRACT

The importance of negotiation of meaning between interlocutors for second language acquisition (SLA) has been pointed out in many studies, and negotiation of meaning is often encouraged in the classroom. However, in a classroom, the potential opportunities that learners have to interact with each other are much more numerous than the times that the same learners can interact with the teacher. Therefore, this study investigated the contribution to SLA of negotiation of meaning between learners. This study found that although learners had many opportunities to produce target language (TL) output during negotiation of meaning, they tended to resort to using their first language (L1) knowledge when they negotiated with other learners who had the same L1. In order to facilitate SLA, learners should try to not resort to this L1 knowledge even if they negotiate with other learners who have the same L1 since resorting to L1 knowledge may prevent them from producing TL output which might be necessary for facilitating SLA.

## 1. NEGOTIATION OF MEANING

During the last two decades, many scholars have argued that comprehensible input is necessary for second language acquisition (SLA), and that it is modified interactions that provide learners with comprehensible input and hence, promote their comprehension. Negotiation of meaning has thus been considered to be beneficial for SLA since it requires interlocutors to modify an interaction and make input comprehensible in order to solve comprehension difficulties. Negotiation of meaning also plays an important role in the production of output since it requires learners to produce output which is comprehensible.<sup>1</sup> Swain (1985, 1993) has argued that production alone is not enough to promote SLA, but that learners need to produce output which conveys a message precisely, coherently, and appropriately by making use of their linguistic knowledge in order to foster SLA.

Since the significance of negotiation of meaning for SLA does not seem debatable (Ellis et al. 1994; Long 1983, 1985; Loschky 1994; Pica 1987, 1988, 1991a, 1991b, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c; Pica and Doughty 1985a, 1985b; Pica et al. 1987; Pica et al. 1989; Pica et al. 1996; Gass and Varonis 1985a, 1985b, 1994), negotiation of meaning should be encouraged in the classroom. However, because the number of native speakers available in a classroom is usually limited to the one teacher, and negotiation of meaning occurs frequently between learners (Pica and Doughty 1985a and 1985b), it is important to examine whether negotiation of meaning between learners contributes to SLA as much as negotiation of meaning between a native speaker (NS) and a non-native speaker (NNS).

With regard to input, NNSs' input does not seem to be as beneficial as NSs' input for SLA since learners get input which is syntactically and lexically simplified and ungrammatical from other learners (Aston 1986; Porter 1986; White 1987). With regard to output, although negotiation of meaning between learners may provide them with opportunities for producing comprehensible output, it has not been studied whether learners actually produce comprehensible output which may facilitate SLA during negotiation of meaning. Learners may produce output which is comprehensible, but may not facilitate SLA. In order to find out whether negotiation of meaning encourages learners to produce comprehensible output which fosters SLA, it is necessary to investigate what kind of output learners actually produce during negotiation of meaning.

## 2. COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

While learners are speaking, they often have a problem which prevents them from conveying their intended messages due to their insufficient linguistic resources.<sup>2</sup> In order to solve the problem and reach their communicative goals of conveying their intended message, learners try to use communication strategies, or "potentially conscious plans for solving what to an individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a particular communicative goal" (Faerch and Kasper 1983:36). Faerch and Kasper (1983) have proposed that there are two types of communication strategies: achievement strategies and reduction strategies. While reduction strategies are associated with avoiding, changing, or abandoning a communicative goal, achievement strategies, also called compensatory strategies, are characterized by expanding learners' linguistic resources. Many studies of communication strategies have focused on learners' use of achievement strategies since it has been considered that the differences in learners' use of achievement strategies may reflect the differences in learners' interlanguage processes (Bialystock 1990). According to Faerch and Kasper, achievement strategies may provide learners with potential benefits for SLA since, by using them, the learners can expand their communicative and linguistic resources.

Although few empirical studies have examined the claim that using communication strategies contributes to SLA, Faerch and Kasper (1983) have proposed that using communication strategies enables learners to bridge the inevitable gap between classroom interaction and various communicative situations outside of the classroom and hence may increase their communicative competence. Furthermore, using communication strategies might make learners conscious about what they can do and what they cannot do and hence might raise learners' consciousness of their current linguistic level. Thus, using communication strategies appears beneficial for SLA.

Negotiation of meaning and the use of communication strategies seem to be mutually related, as negotiation of meaning may require interlocutors to use communication strategies, and unsuccessful communication strategies require them to negotiate meaning. Communication strategies are speaker-oriented, as they are usually employed to solve a speaker's problem. However, since while interacting, the speaker cannot ignore a listener's comprehension and has to make output comprehensible to the listener, communication strategies in negotiation of meaning are also listener-oriented, i.e., speakers can reach their communicative goals only when their output is comprehensible to the listeners. Although there are many studies on communication strategies, there are few studies about how learners use communication strategies with other learners in the context of negotiation of meaning.

## 2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study investigated the significance of negotiation of meaning between learners for SLA. Since negotiation of meaning between learners might provide learners with more opportunities for producing comprehensible output than negotiation of meaning between a NS and a learner (Pica 1988; Pica et al. 1989), this study focused on learners' output during negotiation of meaning. Swain (1985, 1993) has claimed that negotiation of meaning encourages learners to produce comprehensible output which fosters SLA, however, it has not been determined whether learners actually produce such comprehensible output. Learners may often produce output which is comprehensible, but may not foster SLA. Thus, in order to claim that negotiation of meaning between learners contributes to SLA, it is necessary to find out if learners actually produce comprehensible output which facilitates SLA during negotiation. Furthermore, since negotiation of meaning may affect learners' use of communication strategies, and since learners may use different strategies with other learners than with NSs, it is important to investigate how learners use communication strategies through negotiation of meaning with other learners.

I have proposed the following two research questions for determining the contributions of two negotiation of meaning between learners to SLA:



1. What kind of communication strategies do learners use during negotiation with other learners?
2. What kind of output do learners produce during negotiation with other learners?

### 3. METHOD

#### 3.1. Participants

Twelve students (6 females, 6 males) in the first semester of a second year Japanese course (JPN 201) were the participants of this study. Their ages ranged from 19 to 22 years of age and they were all undergraduates. All participants were native speakers of English (7 were Japanese Americans, 3 were Chinese Americans, and 2 were Caucasians).

#### 3.2. Materials

This study made use of a role play since role plays are information gap activities where negotiation of meaning frequently occurs (Pica and Doughty, 1986) and can provide learners with authentic communicative situations and tasks which can be seen outside of the classroom. As the participants were of the same limited proficiency level, it was assumed that it would be difficult for them to actively and spontaneously negotiate meaning and use communication strategies. Thus, in this role play, there was a lexical information gap which was designed to make the participants negotiate meaning and use communication strategies, i.e. several concrete nouns that the participants had not yet learned were used.

The role play that the participants engaged in was called "Talking on the phone". The participants were divided into pairs, A and B, who were friends talking on the phone. A's birthday was coming soon, so A wanted to have her/his birthday party the following Sunday. B was invited to the party, but s/he was not sure where A's house was located. So B called A to ask for directions. In each pair, A was given a map where landmarks such as "police station" were written in Japanese with the English equivalents; however, B was not given the map. A's task was thus to explain to B where A's house was by giving the landmarks on the map. B's task was to find out where A's house was located. Since B did not know the Japanese words for the landmarks, A had to explain the words by using communication strategies in order to complete A's task. B had to understand what A explained in order to complete B's task.

In order to provide all participants with an opportunity to explain the words, pairs performed the activity twice. After finishing the first performance, the participants changed their roles and did the same tasks again. This time, however, the words that the participants were supposed to explain in the second performance were different from those that had been explained in the first performance. The participants who performed the B role were given an answer sheet where they had to write down the English equivalents of the words of the landmarks that A explained as well as the route to A's house in order to check the participants' comprehension. Finally, all of these performances were recorded and transcribed.

- a. The participants who played A in the first performance had to explain the following landmarks, i.e., target words:
  1. police station (*keisatsusho*)
  2. electric power company (*denryoku gaisha*)
  3. immigration office (*iminkyoku*),
  4. botanical garden (*shokubutsuen*)

- b. The participants who played A in the second performance had to explain the following landmarks, i.e., target words:

1. fire station (*shooboosho*)
2. jail (*keimusho*)
3. court house (*saibansho*)
4. barber shop (*tokoya*)

#### 4. RESULTS

- 4.1. What kinds of communication strategies did the learners use during negotiation with other learners?

	Code switching (a)	Code switching (b)	Literal trans.	Paraphrase	Word coinage	Total
Number	13	2	4	22	1	42
Percentage	30.95%	4.76%	9.52%	52.38%	2.38%	99.99%

Table 1. The numbers and the percentages of communication strategies that the participants used.

The participants used 5 communication strategies during negotiation: code switching a and b, literal translation, paraphrasing, and word coinage. Table 1 shows the numbers and the percentages of the kinds of communication strategies that the participants used.

##### (a) Code Switching

Code switching is a strategy in which learners borrow one or more words from their first language (L1), and is thus classified as an L1-based strategy (Faerch, Haastrup, and Phillipson 1984). The participants used 2 types of code switching: (a) saying the English equivalents for the landmarks and (b) explaining the landmarks by inserting English words.

The first type of code switching was "entire code switching" since the participants just said the English equivalents of the Japanese words for the landmarks. All participants had difficulty in explaining the word "police station" in Japanese, and hence resorted to using English.

##### Example 1 Participant 3(A) and 4(B)

- A: *Hai. Eki kara keisatsusho.* ("Yes, from the station, there is a police station.")  
 B: *Keisatsusho? Keisatsusho wa nan desu ka?* ("Keisatsusho? What is keisatsusho?")  
 A: *Keisatsusho. "Police station" desu..* ("Police station. It is a police station.")

Since entire code switching leads learners to give up on negotiation and producing comprehensible output in the target language (TL), using this strategy may not contribute to SLA.

The second type of code switching is "partial code switching" since the participants tried to explain the words for the landmarks in Japanese although they inserted English words into the explanations. Some participants explained the word "court house" by using this strategy. For example "Judge *ga imasu.*" (There is a judge.), or "Criminal *ga*" (That is a criminal.). Although learners still rely on their L1, this strategy does allow learners to partly produce TL comprehensible output and continue the negotiation of meaning, and therefore, it may be more beneficial than entire code switching for SLA.

## (b) Literal Translation

The participants also used another L1-based strategy which is called "literal translation." Literal translation refers to a strategy where learners make a word-for-word translation from their L1 (Faerch, Haastrup, and Phillipson 1984). For instance, in explaining the word "electric power company," all of the participants described this word as "*denki no kaisha*," which is an exact translation from English. While this strategy might work for a listener who has the same L1 as a speaker, it might not work in other cases.

## (c) Paraphrase

Paraphrase refers to a strategy in which learners explain by means of key TL words, often by focusing on characteristic properties or functions of the intended referent (Faerch, Haastrup and Phillipson 1984). This strategy is considered a TL-based strategy since it requires learners to rely on their TL knowledge rather than their L1 knowledge. Paraphrase is one of the most effective strategies when learners communicate with NSs; however, certain complex structures and vocabulary are necessary in paraphrasing, and thus, learners of a low proficiency level may not be able to use this strategy.

Most of the participants succeeded in getting across the meaning of "barber shop", "botanical garden", and "jail" by this strategy. It seems that *kami* ("hair") and *kiru* ("cut") are the key words for "barber shop", *hana* ("flower"), *ki* ("tree"), and *takusan* ("many") are the key words for "botanical garden", and *warui hito* ("bad people") is the key word for "jail".

Example 2: Participant 11 (B) and 12(A): In explaining the word "barber shop".

A: ...*Massugu itte, tokoya no watashi no uchi tokoya no mae arimasu. Tokoya wa kami ga...* ("Go straight. Barber shop, my house, in front of barber shop. Barber shop is where hair....")

Example 3: Participant 3(B) and 4(A)

B: *Keimusho wa nan desu ka?* ("What is *keimusho*?")

A: *Warui hito no tokoro desu.* ("It is the bad people's place.")

In using this strategy, the participants also employed particular shared knowledge which they had acquired in the process of learning Japanese. Hence, when they explained the word "fire" in order to explain the landmark "fire station", most of the participants used the Chinese reading (*ka*) of "fire", the reading most familiar to the participants.

Example 4: Participant 8(A)

A: *Ka, kayoobi no ka no kanji.* ("Ka, the (kanji) "ka" in Tuesday.")

Since they had only come across the kanji for fire as used in the word for Tuesday (*kayoobi*), the participants' particular shared knowledge of Chinese characters helped them understand the word "fire". This is not, however, the reading that a NS would use. NSs would instead use the Japanese reading, *hi*.

When the participants already knew the necessary structures and vocabulary for paraphrasing the landmarks in Japanese, they succeeded in paraphrasing them. However, when they did not know the structures and vocabulary, they gave up explaining the landmarks in Japanese and resorted to using their L1. As Bialystok (1983) points out, in order to use TL based communication strategies effectively, a certain level of linguistic competence might be a prerequisite.

## (d) Word Coinage

A word-coinage strategy is the creation of a non-existent lexical item in the target language. Only one example of word coinage occurred in the study. It was when a participant explained the word "immigration office". She explained this by creating the word *Gaijin kyoku* (Foreigner office). However, since her partner did not know the word *gaijin* ("foreigner"), this strategy did not work.

## 4.2. What kind of output did the learners produce during negotiation with other learners?

Since Swain (1985, 1993) specifies that comprehensible output which conveys a message precisely, coherently, and appropriately by making the best use of a learner's linguistic resources may foster SLA, this study investigated whether the participants actually produced such comprehensible output during negotiation of meaning. We found that the participants produced 3 types of output: (1) Non-TL output, (2) ungrammatical TL output, and (3) grammatical TL output. Table 3 shows the numbers and the percentages of the 3 types of comprehensible output.

	Non-target output	Ungrammatical target output	Grammatical target output	Total
Number	17	15	10	42
Percentage	40.48%	35.71%	23.81%	100%

Table 2. The numbers and the percentages of comprehensible output that the participants produced.

## (a) Non-TL output

Output in which code switching (a) and (b) and literal translation were used, i.e., the participants' L1-based output, belong to this category. The participants produced this type of comprehensible output the most. Perhaps the main reasons why the participants produced non-TL output the most was because they thought that L1-based output would be the most comprehensible to their interlocutors since they both shared the same L1. Thus, if learners negotiate with other learners who have the same L1, they tend to produce L1-based output.

## (b) Ungrammatical TL Output

There are 2 types of ungrammatical TL output. One is called "fragmentary TL output" as it does not contain any structures, i.e., only a combination of words. Although the participants do not use any structure, the words that they use seemed to be sufficient to allow their interlocutors to comprehend.

Example 5: Participant 12(A): For explaining the word "fire station"

A: *Ka, sore to atsui, mizu.* (Fire, that and hot, water.)

The other type is "output containing at least one grammatical or lexical error." Most of this type of TL output was comprehended by the participants since the errors did not distort what the participants wanted to express. For instance, for explaining "barber shop," one participant said "*kami ga kitte...*" (The intended meaning is "(you) cut hair." but in fact, it means "Hair cuts."). He should have used the object marker *o* instead of using the subject marker *ga*. However, since his partner knew that *kami* is "hair", she ignored his grammatical error and correctly guessed "barber shop".

There was one interesting example when a participant made an error which had the potential to distort the meaning of the word, "jail", but in this case did not.

Example 6: Participant 5(B) and 6(A): in explaining the word "jail."

A: *Warui hito ni narimasu.* ((Sub-omitted) become bad people)

B: *Orui?*

A: *Warui hito.* (Bad people.)

B: *Warui hito?* (Bad people?)

A: *Warui hito.* (Bad people.)

B: *Hai, wakarimashita.* (Yes, I understand.)

For a NS, this explanation "*warui hito ni narimasu.*" would not be clear enough to understand the word "jail" because, among other reasons, people go to jail only after they become "bad," they do not become bad in jail. Thus, this explanation might confuse the NS or the advanced learner. However, A and B repeated "*warui hito*" a few times, thereby indicating the importance of the word, which seemed sufficient for the participant to guess the word. Since A and B seemed to focus only on the words "*warui hito*", B was able to disregard erroneous information that may have prevented a NS from understanding the explanation.

Thus, the participants produced a good deal of output which was fragmentary and/or contained errors, however it was still comprehended by their interlocutors. However, if NSs listen to the output that the participants produced, most of the fragmentary output might be incomprehensible to the NSs as it lacked important structures which lead them to correctly guess the participants' intended messages. This type of output does not seem to be output which Swain thinks may foster SLA since it does not convey a message precisely, correctly, and appropriately.

### (3) GRAMMATICAL TL OUTPUT

The participants produced grammatical TL output the least. Although the participants could have used complex structures such as noun modification and subordinate clauses, most of them used very simple structures.

Example 7: In explaining the word "immigration office"

A: *Nihon no hito gaijin. Nihon no hito. Watashi wa Nihon e ikimasu. Watashi gaijin desu.* (Japanese people are foreigners. I go to Japan. I am a foreigner.)

Although Participant 7 could have explained the word "immigration office" by using a subordinate clause such as "*Watashi ga Nihon e ittara, watashi wa gaijin desu.*" ("If I go to Japan, I will be a foreigner."), both of them used the simple structures which they had learned in the first year Japanese course.

According to Swain (1985, 1993), this type of TL output seems to contribute to SLA. However, the participants produced it the least. Thus, learners may not produce output which Swain claims may foster SLA during negotiation of meaning.

## 5. DISCUSSION

In this study, we found that there are 4 problems with contribution of meaning between learners which may detract from the contribution of negotiation of meaning to SLA. First of all, the participants tended to resort to using their L1 knowledge. The main reason why the participants tended to make use of their first language may be because L1-based strategies and output were the most comprehensible and hence the most effective to the interlocutors since they shared the same L1. Thus, negotiation of meaning between learners, when learners have the same L1, might not encourage learners to produce comprehensible output which may foster SLA as much as negotiation of meaning between a NS and a NNS. However, since one of learners' purposes in learning the TL is

to communicate in the TL, and Haastrop and Phillipson (1983) found that TL-based strategies often lead to full comprehension during negotiation with NSs, learners should try to make use of their TL knowledge even when they interact with other learners who share the same L1. More importantly, resorting to L1 knowledge may prevent learners from making use of TL knowledge and producing comprehensible output which may foster SLA. Thus, even if learners negotiate meaning with other learners who have the same L1, learners should try to make use of TL knowledge as much as possible for their SLA.

A second finding in this study is that the participants did not provide their interlocutors with corrective feedback after their interlocutors produced ungrammatical output. Although it is unclear why the participants did not do that, one possible reason might be because they tended to focus on the words rather than on the grammar that their interlocutors used in order to comprehend their interlocutors' intended messages. As long as the participants understood the words, they tended to ignore other ungrammatical portions of their interlocutors' output which might have prevented NSs from comprehending. Another possible reason might be because the participants were not used to correcting each other and hence, might not have known how to correct their partners' errors since it was their teacher who usually corrected their errors in the classroom. Producing ungrammatical output itself does not seem to be detrimental for SLA. However, if learners do not get negative feedback on the ungrammatical output, it might be detrimental for SLA in the long run, as it may cause them to fossilize.

A third finding in this study is that the participants did not tend to confirm their comprehension. Take, for example, the following exchange:

Example 8: Participant 7(A) and 8(B): In explaining the word "botanical garden".

A: *Takusan no hana to ki to.* ("Many flowers and trees")

B: *Hai, wakarimashita.* ("OK, I understand")

Since B did not confirm his comprehension, he misunderstood what A was explaining as *kooen* ("park") instead of *shokubutsuen* ("botanical garden"). If B had checked his comprehension, A would have recognized that B did not understand A's intended message and A would have kept explaining the word in different ways. Thus, confirmation checks seem very important since they push a learner to keep explaining her/his intended message in different ways until her/his interlocutor comprehends it. By doing this, the learner may find out which strategy or explanation is the most comprehensible and effective. There are other reasons why the participants did not tend to confirm their comprehension; one possible reason might be because they were not used to confirming their comprehension as they had not often engaged in negotiation activities in the classroom. Thus, they might not have known the importance of comprehension checks nor even how to confirm their comprehension.

The last finding in this study is that the participants tended to produce output containing only simple structures and words which they had learned in their first year Japanese course. However, it does not necessarily mean that the participants' linguistic abilities were at that level. As Gass and Selinker (1994) have pointed out, output is not completely identical to one's linguistic ability. Although output might reflect learners' linguistic ability, since there are many factors which affect learners' output such as preference, personality, and tasks, output is not an absolute measure of learners' linguistic ability.

## 6. CONCLUSION

This study investigated the significance of negotiation of meaning between learners for SLA. Although this study found 4 problems which may inhibit negotiation of meaning between learners

from contributing to SLA as much as negotiation of meaning between a NS and a NNS, it seems that there is a possible solution to these problems.

Providing learners with a feedback session after their negotiation seems to be the best solution. Here, the teacher could record the learners' performances on tape and transcribe them. In the session, the teacher could provide the learners with comments on the learners' performances, encourage them to make use of TL knowledge, and teach them how to ask for clarification and how to confirm comprehension. Furthermore, the teacher could also provide the learners with corrective feedback on their performances in order to prevent them from fossilizing. By getting corrective feedback, the learners may notice that their output was deviant from the TL forms, and then change their hypotheses about the TL. The learners also play an active role in the session since they could reflect upon and discuss their performances. The learners could also provide other learners with corrective feedback, advice, and comments on other learners' performances. Thus, providing learners with a feedback session may make them aware of what they are producing and hence, make them focus on form.

Thus, negotiation of meaning between learners seems to have the potential to contribute to SLA. However, a few questions about this issue still remain to be answered: Why did the participants tend to use simple structures and words? Was it because they negotiated with other learners? What exactly is it that makes learners able to produce comprehensible output which may foster SLA? Finding the answers to these questions is necessary in order to claim that negotiation of meaning between learners contributes to SLA.

#### NOTES

- 1 Comprehensible output refers to output which is comprehensible to a native speaker (NS).

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### III. SPEAK YOUR MIND



# SENTENCE INTERPRETATION STRATEGIES IN ENGLISH LEARNERS OF CHINESE: A PILOT STUDY

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## ABSTRACT

English native speakers have been reported to depend primarily on the word order cue in interpreting English sentences, whereas native Chinese speakers rely predominantly on the lexical semantic cue in interpreting Chinese sentences (Bates et al., 1982; Li et al., 1993). The present study investigated the interpretation strategies used by English-Chinese bilinguals in processing their L1 and L2 to examine transfer patterns. The cues tested were word order and noun animacy. The results show that English-speaking learners transferred their L1 word order strategies in processing Chinese, except in the NNV sentences where intermediate and advanced learners favored the noun animacy cue. The results also indicate that the knowledge of L2 did not in turn affect English learners' use of strategies in processing their L1; regardless of the proficiency level and sentence types, they favored the word order cue in processing English as monolingual English speakers do.

## I. INTRODUCTION

Cross-linguistic studies on how people utilize surface form information (e. g., prosodic, morphological, semantic, syntactic cues) to determine the agent-object relation in a sentence have shown that adult listeners of different languages use the same surface cues with different degrees of strength (Bates et al. 1982; MacWhinney et al. 1984; Li et al. 1993; Kail 1989). For example, native English speakers are found to rely on the syntactic cue (i. e., word order) in assigning the agent role, while native Chinese speakers overwhelmingly depend on the semantic cue (i. e., noun animacy) (Bates et al. 1982; Li et al. 1993). Thus, given a sentence such as "The ball hits the boy.", where the word order cue indicates the ball as the agent of the sentence (the noun preceding the verb is usually identified as the agent), whereas the noun animacy cue suggests the boy as the agent (an animate noun is more likely to perform an action on an inanimate noun), English native speakers tend to choose the ball as the actor, while Chinese speakers tend to choose the boy.

These findings are explained within the framework of the competition model (Bates and MacWhinney 1987, 1989). The competition model is a functionalist account of performance which provides a means of explaining cross-linguistic variation in sentence processing by children and adults. According to the model, the relative strength of cues can be predicted by their relative cue validities. The validity of a cue is defined in terms of two parameters—availability and reliability. Availability refers to the frequency of occurrence of a particular cue: if a cue is always present in a sentence whenever it is needed, then it is maximally available. In the scheme of McDonald (1986), it can be expressed numerically as the ratio of the cases in which the cue is available over the total number of cases in a task. Reliability is defined as the percentage of times that a cue leads to the correct interpretation of an input utterance when the cue is available. Validity is defined as the product of availability times reliability. Thus, cross-language variation in reliance on cues can be accounted for by pointing to differences in cue validity. For example, both word order and noun animacy cues are available in English and Italian, but their validities are different and so the strength assigned to each cue differs. In English, except in passive sentences, the position of a noun before and after a transitive verb is both a highly available and a highly reliable cue to the agent-object relation, leading English monolinguals to rely heavily on the word order cue in interpreting sentences. The noun animacy cue, on the other hand, is not always applicable as in sentences like "The earthquake destroyed the town." Even when it is available, it may not be reliable in conveying the functional information. For example, noun animacy is not a reliable cue to the actor role in the sentence "The earthquake killed ten people.", because the inanimate noun rather than the animate noun is the actor. Thus, because it is higher in both applicability and reliability, the word order cue is the more valid cue to the actor role in English. By contrast, Italian is a language that permits the omission of the subject if it is understood from

the context and allows a great deal of word-order variation for pragmatic purposes. As a result, word order is not as available and reliable for Italian monolinguals in determining the meaning of a sentence as for English monolinguals. On the other hand, verb agreement is always available and reliable since the language has a rich verbal morphological system. When verb agreement is ambiguous as in some experimental situations, Italian monolinguals are found to rely on noun animacy instead (Bates et al. 1982).

Given the fact that listeners of different languages assign different weights to surface cues in the process of sentence interpretation, we may ask how second/foreign language learners perform in the target language. Will learners' L1 sentence processing strategies play a role in their interpretation of L2? Recently, a number of psycholinguistic studies have been conducted to investigate transfer at the processing level, and the results show that transfer of L1 processing strategies does occur in the acquisition of L2 (Wulfeck et al. 1986, Spanish & English; Kilborn and Cooreman 1987, Dutch & English; Harrington 1987, Japanese & English; Gass 1987, Italian & English; Liu et al. 1992, Chinese & English). One of the interesting findings is that a semantics-based strategy seems to take precedence over a syntax-based one. For example, the Italian speakers learning English (Gass 1987) and the Japanese speakers learning English (Harrington 1987) tended to maintain their native language semantics-based cue (noun animacy in both cases) as the primary cue in processing English, not readily adopting word order as a major interpretation cue. On the other hand, the English learners of Italian (Gass 1987) and the English learners of Japanese (Sasaki 1991, a follow-up study of Harrington 1987) readily dropped their strong use of the word order cue and adopted the semantic cue as a primary cue in interpreting Italian and Japanese sentences. Gass, thus, suggests that semantic cues may have a certain universal prepotency in language learning and processing. However, Gass's proposal does not get support from Kilborn & Cooreman (1987) or from Wulfeck et al. (1986), where the strongest cue in Dutch and Spanish (i.e., verb agreement) was provided in addition to animacy and word order. The results from the two studies show that Dutch-English and Spanish-English bilinguals were most strongly dependent on the agreement cue followed by animacy and word order cues. In Gass (1987) and Harrington (1987), on the other hand, reliable cues in L1 (verb agreement in Italian; case marking in Japanese) were neutralized. As a result, one can argue that a semantics-based interpretation might be a strategy of last resort, used when learners fail to find reliable grammatical cues, rather than a universally prepotent strategy (MacWhinney 1987).

In addition to the transfer of L1 strategies to L2 processing, other kinds of transfer patterns are also found. For example, Hernandez, Bates & Avila (1994) found their early Spanish-English bilinguals used a combination of monolingual strategies that is neither exclusively L1 nor L2 in character in choosing the agent of a sentence. Liu, Bates & Li (1992) found two groups of their early Chinese-English bilingual subjects (age of exposure to English: before 4 and between 12-16) appeared to adopt L2 strategies to process both L1 and L2, and the other group (age of exposure to English: between 6-10) showed a differentiated pattern of performance in their two languages.

Most of the studies on sentence processing in bilinguals done so far have generally included only one L2 proficiency level, which makes it difficult to see how transfer patterns change developmentally as language learners become more fluent in the L2. To investigate how transfer varies as a function of proficiency, I (Su 1995) examined transfer phenomena at three different stages of learning English as a foreign language by Chinese speakers (Beginning EFL, Intermediate-high EFL, and Advanced EFL). Chinese speakers have been shown to depend overwhelmingly on the animacy cue in interpreting Chinese sentences<sup>1</sup> (Li et al. 1993; Liu et al. 1992). On the other hand, English speakers have been reported to rely most heavily on the word order cue in interpreting English sentences; they consistently choose the first noun in NVN strings and consistently select the second noun in noncanonical orders (NNV and VNN) as the agent, which suggests strong SV and VO clusters in English sentence parsing (Bates et al. 1982). Given the two different sets of interpretation strategies, the study attempted to examine how Chinese EFL learners process English sentences with the influence from their L1, how their knowledge of L2

might in turn influence their processing of L1, and how the degree of influence varies as a function of proficiency. The cues that were tested in the study were word order and noun animacy.

The results show that processing strategies appropriate to L1 (animacy in this case) were carried over to processing in the word order-centered L2, and interestingly L1 strategies remained dominant even in the advanced learners. The animacy cue "won" whenever it was in competition with the word order cue. Thus, for an English test sentence like "The banana eats the cat.", the Chinese EFL learners pervasively chose the cat as the agent regardless of their proficiency level in English. This result suggests that the full acquisition of L2 processing strategies is difficult, if not impossible for foreign language learners. However, in cases where the animacy contrast was neutralized, there is evidence indicating that the learners gradually adopted L2 word order strategies in processing L2, and their sensitivity to the important role of word order in L2 processing became stronger and stronger as their ability in the L2 increased.

The study also shows that the learners' sensitivity to the L2 word order cue was carried over to their L1 processing. Compared to the Chinese controls who did not take the word order cue into consideration at all (about 50% of the first noun choice in all of the word order types), the intermediate-high and advanced learners adopted English word order strategies (first noun choice in NVN strings, and second noun choice in non-canonical strings) in processing Chinese when animacy was held constant. This suggests backward transfer (i.e., L2 strategies being carried over to L1 processing). Actually, the advanced subjects seem to have merged the L1 and L2 strategies and applied the combination in processing both L1 and L2; that is, the learners used L1's animacy strategies when there was competition between animacy and word order, but consistently followed word order-based L2 strategies when the animacy conditions were held constant.

The results of this study indicate how native speakers of an animacy-based language (i.e., Chinese) acquired the interpretation strategies of a word order-centered target language (i.e., English), and also provide evidence that transfer patterns do change as a function of proficiency. However, this is only half of the story. We are not sure whether the same pattern of developmental change in transfer phenomena also manifests itself in native speakers of a syntax-based language acquiring a semantics-based target language. Will the pattern of developmental change in transfer found in Chinese EFL learners be different from that in English CFL learners? If yes, how? Will it be easier for English speakers to acquire the animacy-based strategies than it is for Chinese speakers to acquire word-order based strategies? If it is proven to be true, will English speakers carry the L2 strategies over to their processing of L1? To pursue these questions, the present study was conducted to investigate how English learners of Chinese with different levels of proficiency utilize animacy and word order cues in interpreting their L1 and L2.

## II. METHOD

**Subjects:** A total of 24 English learners of Chinese participated in this experiment. They comprised three groups, and each consisted of 8 people. One group of subjects were beginners who were taking Chinese 103 or 201 at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa at the time of testing. They had been learning Chinese for one to two years. The second group of subjects were intermediate learners who were taking 400-level Chinese courses. They had been learning Chinese for four to five years. The third group of subjects were advanced learners who are professors, instructors or graduate students in the Chinese Division of the Department of East Asian Languages & Literatures at the university. All of the advanced subjects had been to China or Taiwan for about two to three years.

**Test sentences:** The cues that were tested in this study are word order and noun animacy. The test sentences were composed of two nouns and one verb with these cues in converging or competing combinations. There were three different word order types: verb medial (NVN), verb initial (VNN) and verb final (NNV). In terms of animacy, the two nouns were (1) animate-animate (AA) (2) animate-inanimate (AI), and (3) inanimate-animate (IA). Both Chinese and English sentences

were created, with the English sentences being translations of the Chinese ones. Each English sentence consisted of a verb in the third person singular and two nouns with the definite article 'the'.

All possible combinations of two nouns and one verb were presented, resulting in 9 (3 Word Order x 3 Animacy) sentences types: AVA, AAV, VAA; AVI, AIV, VAI; IVA, IAV, VIA. Three blocks of 9 sentences were created, resulting in 27 test sentences. The identical 18 nouns (12 animals and 6 inanimate objects) and 9 transitive verbs were used in both the English and Chinese sentences. The words used in the present study are given in Table 1. In order to avoid bias due to particular combinations of nouns and verbs, noun-verb combinations were assigned randomly to each sentence type. Table 2 gives some examples of test sentences.

The use of ungrammatical or unnatural sentences is considered appropriate in this kind of experimental study since we are investigating how the manipulation of converging and competing cues affect comprehension processing outcomes. This type of information is extraordinarily difficult to obtain from natural speech samples. Another reason to use unrealistic sentences is to avoid familiar and powerful canonical relationships among terms (e.g., Mom feeds the baby; The boy the homework does); subjects might interpret the expected event without any linguistic input at all. Besides, results to date demonstrate that such ungrammatical sentences yield very systematic information about the sources of information that listeners prefer to use in their L1 or L2.

Table 1. Lexical items used in the study.

Animate Nouns		Inanimate Nouns		Verbs	
Chinese	English	Chinese	English	Chinese	English
gouxiong	bear	pingguo	apple	yao	bite
xiaomao	cat	xiangjiao	banana	zhuang	bump
gongji	cock	qiqiu	balloon	zhua	catch
xiaoniu	cow	damen	door	zhui	chase
xiaogou	dog	fengzheng	kite	chi	eat
yazi	duck	chuanghu	window	da	hit
daxiang	elephant			ti	kick
shizi	lion			qiao	knock
laoshu	mouse			zhai	pluck
houzi	monkey				
xiaozhu	pig				
xiaotu	rabbit				

Table 2. Examples of stimulus sentences used in this study.

<u>Sample Sentence</u>	<u>Animacy</u>	<u>Word Order</u>
The cat kicks the elephant.	A—A	N-V-N
The rabbit the kite chases.	A—I	N-N-V
Picks the apple the monkey.	I—A	V-N-N
Gouxiong zhui xiaomao.	A—A	N-V-N
Houzi yizi chi.	A—I	N-N-V
Zhui fengzheng xiaoniu.	I—A	V-N-N

Procedure: The experiment was divided into two sessions, one in English and the other in Chinese. The order of presentation of English and Chinese sentences was counterbalanced within a group. There was an interval of three or five days between the first and second tests. This interval was made purposely to avoid a carry-over effect of the first test to the second one.

Twenty-seven pairs of pictures corresponding to the 27 test sentences were prepared and presented to the subjects during the test. The subjects listened to a series of 27 sentences in English in one session and in Chinese in the other (or in the reverse order). They then were asked to mark which of the two pictures they thought described the meaning of the sentence. The sequence of test sentences in English and Chinese sessions was different. During the Chinese test, it was first ascertained that the subjects understood the vocabulary items. This was accomplished by giving each subject a list of words to be used in the task to review right before the test, and they were asked to translate each of the words into Chinese. For the beginners, since most of the words were new to them, the pinyin was written at the side of the animal and object in each picture to aid in comprehension.

Before the test began, I explained the task to the subjects in English. They were also told that some sentences might sound a little strange, but they still had to pick a picture which described the meaning of the sentence. It was made clear that there was no right or wrong answer. Two practice sentences were given to each subject before each test, using lexical items different from those in the test.

Scoring: Scoring generally followed the procedure adopted in previous studies to derive the dependent variable, "percent choice of the first noun as agent". Each subject's response was given a score of 1 if s/he chose the first noun and 0 if s/he chose the second noun. Missing responses were scored as 0.5. A summary score was calculated for the 3 individual sentences belonging to the same sentence type and the numbers were entered in the analyses of variance (ANOVA). It should be noted that the percentage of first-noun choice is inversely related to the percentage of second-noun choice. Thus, a score close to 100% means that the first noun is reliably chosen as agent, while a score close to 0% means that the second noun is reliably chosen.

### III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The performance of each group of English CFL learners was compared with that of the Chinese and English monolingual controls in my earlier study (Su 1995) to examine transfer patterns. Therefore, I first summarize the results of the Chinese and English monolingual controls' performance in my previous study, and then report the performance of the English CFL learners in their L1 and L2.

#### EXPERIMENTAL RESULTS FOR MONOLINGUALS

The Chinese monolinguals overwhelmingly relied on noun animacy to assign the agent role when there was competition between animacy and word order. The main effect of animacy ( $F(3, 33) = 17.07, p < 0.001$ ) accounts for 91% of the experimental variance. The effect of word order was not significant at all ( $F(2, 22) = 0.02, p = 0.98$ ). Across animacy conditions, the first noun was selected at random (around 50%). Even with animacy held constant, the first noun was chosen 58% of the time in NVN, 58% of the time in NNV and 44% of the time in VNN; there seems not to have been any strong bias for the Chinese native speakers towards interpretations in terms of word order.

Contrary to the Chinese monolinguals, the English monolinguals showed a strong preference for the word order cue in assigning the agent role ( $F(2, 22) = 66.26, p < 0.001$ , accounting for 95% of the experimental variance). Across all animacy conditions, the English control subjects selected the first noun 93% of the time in NVN strings, 10% in NNV and 25% in VNN. It is clear that they interpreted NVN as SVO, NNV as OSV and VNN as VOS, which suggests that SV and VO are two strong clusters in English sentence parsing. There was also a much weaker main effect of animacy ( $F(3,33) = 5.63, p < 0.01$ , accounting for only 4% of the experimental variance). However, an individual comparison indicated that the English monolinguals were significantly different from the Chinese monolinguals in employing this cue ( $F(3, 66) = 6.07, p < 0.001$ ).

## ENGLISH LEARNERS' PERFORMANCE IN THE L2

There is clear evidence that English word order strategies were carried over to the interpretation of Chinese sentences in all three groups of English CFL learners. The ANOVA analyses for the beginning, intermediate, and advanced groups' performances in Chinese each yielded a significant main effect for word order ( $F(2, 14) = 13.74, p < 0.001$ ,  $F(2, 14) = 20.93, p < 0.001$ ,  $F(2, 14) = 48.06, p < 0.001$ , respectively). However, it is also clear that the learners' sensitivity to Chinese animacy strategies increases as their proficiency increases. As seen in Figure 1, the percentage of first noun choice as a function of animacy in these CFL learners more closely approximates that of the Chinese controls as their fluency in Chinese increases. Actually, the animacy cue even overrode word order in the intermediate and advanced learners' processing of NNV strings. As the English controls interpreted NNV as OSV across all animacy conditions, these two bilingual groups interpreted AIV as SOV (79% and 73% of the time, respectively) and IAV as OSV (75% and 88% of the time, respectively) in Chinese. Does this result suggest that animacy strategies are easier to acquire than word order ones (recall that disregarding the proficiency level, Chinese EFL learners preferred animacy to word order in interpreting conflicting sentences in English)? Not exactly. There are at least two reasons. First, the preference for the animacy cue was evident only in one of the three sentence types (see Figure 2). If those English CFL learners had fully acquired the Chinese animacy strategies, they would be expected to have used those strategies in other sentence types too (i.e., NVN and VNN), or at least in the other noncanonical sentences (VNN). However, Figure 2 shows that their performance on NVN and VNN strings was similar to that of the English controls. Second, the learners' preference for animacy in processing only NNV sentences might have resulted from their awareness of topic-comment structures in Chinese. Chinese has been considered a topic-prominent language. The topic of a sentence is what the sentence is about, and it always comes first in the sentences. Any item can serve as a topic in a sentence and be followed by a NV cluster. The topic can be the subject or the preposed object of the sentence. Thus, "mother clothes wash" and "clothes mother wash" are both legitimate sentences in Chinese. The intermediate and advanced CFL learners, who were exposed to Chinese longer, might have acquired this topic-comment structure and been aware that word order alone could not decide "who does what to whom". Thus, they turned their attention to the animacy cue like Chinese monolinguals do. In this case, one can argue that a semantics-based interpretation might be a strategy of last resort, used when learners fail to find reliable grammatical cues (cf. MacWhinney 1987). To conclude, as far as the evidence and arguments presented in this study are concerned, acquiring semantics-based processing strategies seems to be as difficult as acquiring syntax-based ones.

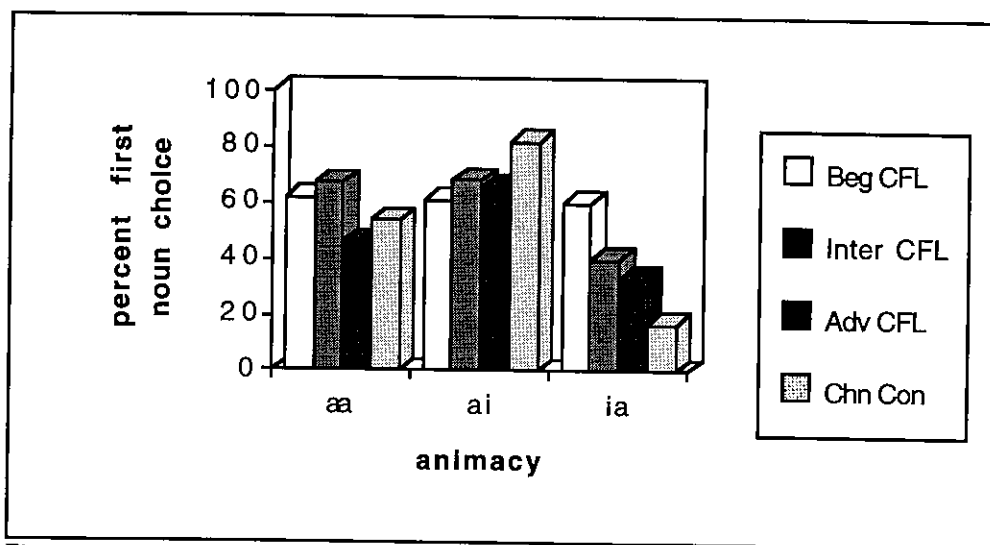


Figure 1. Percentage of first noun choice as a function of animacy in the Chinese Test



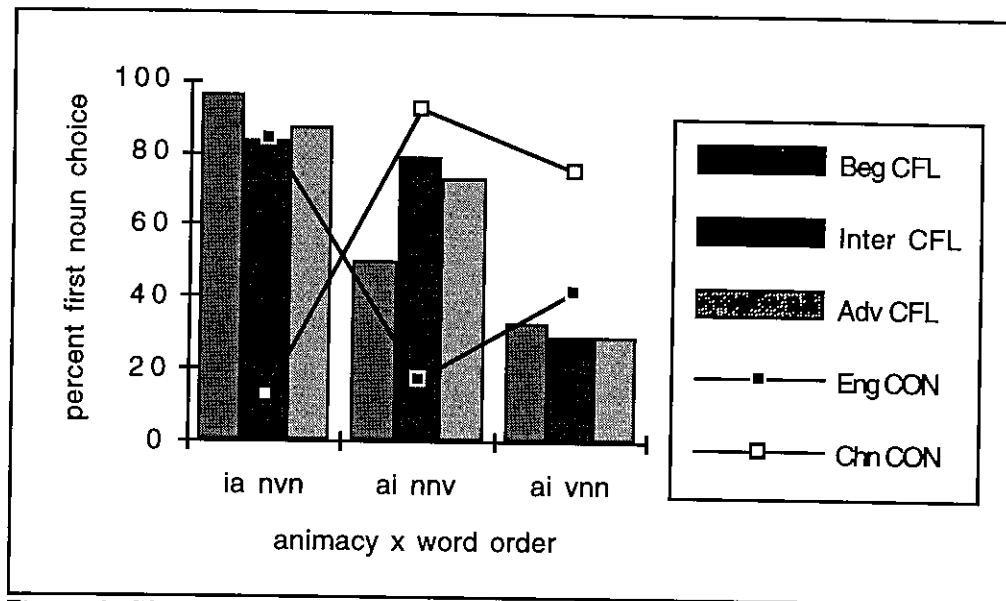


Figure 2. The performance of the CFL learners in the Chinese competitive sentences (compared with monolingual controls).

#### ENGLISH CFL LEARNERS' PERFORMANCE IN THE L1

All of the learners showed a strong preference for word order as the English monolinguals did in interpreting English sentences. The main effect of word order accounts for the majority of experimental variance in all three levels of learners: 99.86% in the beginning group, 96% in the intermediate group and 88% in the advanced group. The main effect of animacy was not significant at all in the beginning and intermediate learners, but is significant in the advanced learners ( $F(2, 14) = 9.61, p < 0.01$ , accounting for 10% of the experimental variance). The two-way interaction of animacy x word order was not significant in any of the groups, which suggests that the word order cue dominates regardless of animacy conditions. The ANOVA analyses comparing the three groups of bilinguals with the English monolingual controls indicated no statistical significance for any main effects or interactions, suggesting that the learners were not different from the L1 controls, and that there was little transfer of L2 strategies to L1 processing. Compared to Chinese EFL learners who showed a trace of L2 strategies in L1 processing, English CFL learners seem not to have been affected at all by their L2 knowledge when they processed their L1.

Besides transfer from L1 to L2 and from L2 to L1, another logically possible outcome is differentiation, namely, bilingual speakers perform like mono-linguals in each of their two languages. This outcome can be examined by directly comparing performance on L1 and L2 within individual subjects. The results of ANOVA analyses show that two groups of English CFL learners (i.e., the beginning and intermediate learners) showed evidence that they used somewhat different strategies in processing their L1 and L2, which is in contrast to Chinese EFL learners who did not distinguish between their two languages at any stages of learning. This result suggests that, at least in the first few years of learning, it is easier for learners whose L1 is syntax-based and are learning a semantics-centered language to be aware of the difference between their L1 and L2, than the other way around.

#### IV. THE LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Though the present study has found evidence of a developmental change in processing transfer in English-speaking learners of Chinese, as well as differences in the transfer patterns between English CFL and Chinese EFL learners, the results have to be considered tentative for a

least two reasons. First, the number of subjects in each CFL group was small ( $n=8$ ); the results obtained might thus not be representative of that group of learners. Second, the number of tokens for each sentence type used in my two studies was different. In my earlier study (1995), both English and Chinese controls received only two trials for each sentence type, while in this study, all English CFL learners received three trials. This difference might have affected the reliability of transfer patterns obtained here.

#### NOTE

With a poor morphological system, Chinese native speakers might be expected to rely on the word order cue in sentence processing, as English native speakers do in English. However, in contrast to English, whose word order is strict, Chinese allows the omission of the subject of a sentence if it is understood from the context, and it permits variation of word order for pragmatic purposes. Thus, word order is not predicted to be a strong cue in processing Chinese. This has been shown to be true by Liu et al. (1992) and Li et al. (1993).

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# PASSIVE VOICE OR AFFECTIVE VERBS IN VIETNAMESE?\*

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## ABSTRACT

This paper (1) explores the class of verbs in Vietnamese that have been claimed to be markers of the passive voice (i.e. *bị được* and others) and (2) claims that those verbs actually constitute a special class of "affective" verbs which are distinct from markers of the passive voice.

## INTRODUCTION

Following the claims of Thompson (1965) and Clark (1971), this paper claims that Vietnamese does not have passive voice and that the words which have been considered markers of passive voice actually constitute a class of "affective" verbs with shared syntactic distributions and semantic functions. Vietnamese has a class of extension verbs<sup>1</sup> (i.e., verbs that require predicate complements) that link the sentence-initial, nominatively-marked noun in sentences to the dependent clauses of affective verbs. These verbs have specific semantic functions that indicate the positive, neutral, or negative effects of those verbs on nominatively-marked nouns; hence the term "affective" (a subclass of extension verbs) is used. This explanation for those verbs is in contrast with the prescriptive explanation of passive voice in European languages which is based on the relationship between the Agent and Patient and a shifting of position of those elements. Thus, this paper about Vietnamese affective verbs offers an alternative analysis of the western notion of passive voice and describes a typological category which has been either largely ignored in typological studies or rarely described in European terms in so-called universal grammars.<sup>2</sup>

## WHAT IS PASSIVE VOICE?

Prescriptive and theoretical European and American definitions of passive voice are morphologically, syntactically, and semantically based. In traditional prescriptive grammars, the term "passive" refers to the placing of the object in the subject slot along with additional morphological marking of voice, sometimes through verbal conjugations. Transformational grammarians posit that the object moves to the subject slot, typically in coordination with morphological changes (Haegeman 1994). Semantically, the patient becomes the recipient or experiencer of an action that has been initiated externally (Radford 1981). This semantic interpretation of passive derived from European language may have led to the belief that Vietnamese has passive voice since translations of passive constructions in European languages into Vietnamese may require the use of certain Vietnamese lexical elements which appear to share some semantic features of passive voice.

However, the correspondence of passive voice in English (and other European languages) and this class of verbs in Vietnamese is not regular. Not all Vietnamese sentences which supposedly mark the so-called passive translate as passive in English, and the reverse is also true in some cases. Furthermore, lexical elements that can occur after so-called passive markers in Vietnamese include both transitive and intransitive verbs and even nouns. Thus, what these elements are is not immediately clear, and whether passive even exists in Vietnamese has also been unclear.

One solution for this problem has been proposed by some linguists who have decided that Vietnamese does not have passive voice. Thompson (1965) claimed that Vietnamese has no active/passive voice distinction and that the device through which certain elements are made the focus of actions is the "logical passive" marked by a class of verbs which take descriptive complements. This might be considered more along the lines of topic-comment structures in which

the initial noun of a sentence, the "topic," is given with a following predication, the "comment." However, Thompson's analysis still requires the notion of passive, the "logical passive," which might explain some of the instances of these lexical elements, but not all, as noted above. Clark (1971) went further, claiming that the notion of passive does not apply to Vietnamese, but that instead, Vietnamese has a class of submissive or adversative verbs that takes three different kinds of verb complements. Thus, this latter explanation makes a specific claim, categorizing this class of lexical elements in terms of part of speech and subcategories within that primary category. The rest of this paper supports the claim that Vietnamese has no passive category and describes the syntactic and semantic function of Vietnamese affective verbs.

## SEMANTIC AND SYNTACTIC EVIDENCE

The elements that have been considered passive are shown in Table 1 where they are differentiated by their semantic functions, indicating positive, neutral, or negative effects. Table 1 is also divided into two portions based on the etymological origin of the element, the left-side containing words of Chinese origin (the Chinese pronunciation is given in pinyin romanization) and the right-side containing indigenous Vietnamese forms.

CHINESE-DERIVED FORMS			NATIVE VIETNAMESE	
Viet.	Chinese	Gloss	Viet.	Gloss
bị	bèi	adversely affected	phải	to suffer
do	yóu	the result of	mắc	to suffer illness
được	dé	favorably affected	chịu	to suffer/withstand

Table 1: Vietnamese Adversative Verbs

The fact that the most productive affective verbs are of Chinese origin is significant for analyses of both the differences and similarities between Vietnamese and Chinese, as will be discussed more below. Table 1 shows only the semantic functions of these elements without regard to their syntactic distribution, though they are for the most part the same.

It is interesting to consider that the word for "passive" in Vietnamese, *bị động*, a word of Chinese origin, uses the lexical element *bị*, which is derived from Mandarin *bèi*. This term was created to translate the western term "passive," thus further suggesting why these elements have been assumed to be markers of passive voice. However, one significant difference between these elements in Chinese and Vietnamese is that positive or negative effects are not semantically differentiated by different lexical elements in Chinese, whereas in Vietnamese there are differences. Thus, perhaps the term for passive in Vietnamese is inappropriate and misleading.

Now, consider this class of lexical elements in terms of part of speech. In parallel with arguments about the Mandarin Chinese *bèi* construction (keep in mind that *bèi* is the etymological source of Vietnamese *bị*), which has been discussed in detail by numerous linguists and language instructors,<sup>3</sup> these phonetic forms could potentially represent two separate lexical items based on their syntactic distribution, one being an extension verb with a following verbal complement as in S1, and the other, a preposition that marks the semantic agent, somewhat like English 'by' as in S2. The symbols used include N for noun, V for verb, and P for preposition.

S 1			S 2			
ông ấy	bị	bệnh	anh ấy	bị	người ta	đánh
he	suffer	sick	he	suffer	someone	hit
N	V	V	N	P?	N	V
"He has a disease."			"He has been beaten by someone."			

First of all, *bị* (see example), in S1 does appear to be a verb, what might be considered an auxiliary verb, but what will here be considered affective extension verb. As for the issue of passive voice, S1 shows an intransitive verb after *bị*, which weakens an analysis of it as a passive construction which should contain a transitive verb. In addition, S1 does not require the *bị* extension verb as shown in S3; it is optional, which seems odd if this is really a passive sentence.

As for S2, though true prepositions can occur postverbally in Vietnamese, *bị* and the immediately following noun do not form a movable constituent, as shown by the ungrammaticality of S4, thus suggesting that it is not a preposition.

S 3  
ông ấy    bệnh  
he        sick  
N        V  
'He is sick.'

S 4  
\*nó    đánh   bị    người  
3s    hit    suffer   some  
N     V     P?    N  
'He was hit by someone.'

The solution to this matter is, as posited by Clark (1971), that these elements are verbs and the whole clauses following Vietnamese affective verbs are those verbs' dependents. This can be shown graphically using Lexicase stemmas, as presented in Figures 1 and 2.

Figure 1

"He was (fortunately) able to eat."

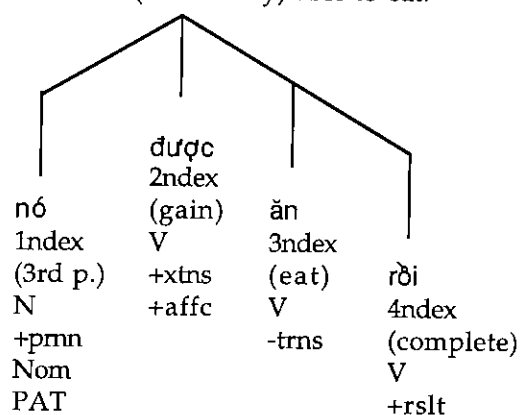
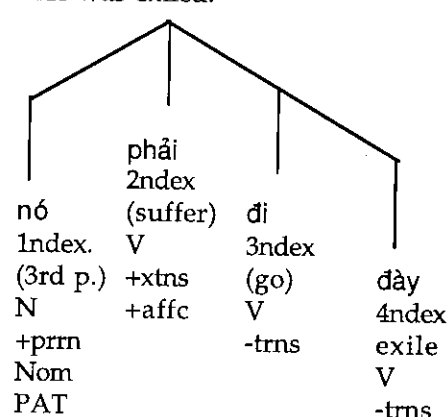


Figure 2

"He was exiled."



In each case, the head/regent of the sentence is the affective verb with the other dependents, shown in lower positions, serving as the dependents of the regent. Notice that the meaning of the affective verb indicates the positive or negative effect of the dependent clause.<sup>4</sup> The confusion of these affective verbs with markers of passive voice lies primarily in the semantic overlap in passive voice in languages with true passive. Consider S5 where the closest translation of the affective verb 'do' is 'by', despite the fact that a true preposition would otherwise be free to occur either before or after a verb in Vietnamese. In contrast, a sentence such as S6 cannot be translated with a preposition nor given a passive translation.

S 5  
xe ấy    do    một    cô    gái    lái  
that car by one girl drive  
N        V    N        V  
'That car is driven by a girl.'

S 6  
tôi    đã    được    bớt    tiền    rồi  
I    already gained diminished money complete  
N    V        V        V        N        V  
'I've benefited by the lowering of the cost.'

The support for determining the existence of passive voice in Vietnamese, either *pro* or *con*, is at best only weakly supported by translations. Thus, the distribution of these elements should serve as

better criteria, in particular, the types of items that serve as the syntactic dependents of these verbs.

The range of elements which can serve as dependents of these affective verbs, the distributional criteria, provides further evidence that these are not markers of passive voice. The different kinds of dependents are shown in Table 2.

	DEPENDENT	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
1.	V/-trns	nó-phải-đi-day 3s-V-go-exile	"He is exiled." or "He has to be exiled."
2.	V/+sttv	nó-bị-bệnh 3s-V-ill	"He's ill."
3.	V/+trns	nó-bị-giết 3s-V-kill	"He was killed."
4.	N, V	nó-được-cô ta-hôn 3s-V-her-kiss	"He was (fortunately) kissed by her."
5.	N	nó-dẫm-phải-gai 3s-step on-V-thorn	"He stepped (unfortunately) on a thorn."
6.	V/+trns, N	nó-phải-mua-đồ 3s-V-buy-thing	"He had to go buy things."

Table 2: Dependents of Affective Verbs

The features shown in the table include verbs (V), nouns (N), transitivity (+/-trns), and stative (sttv). Slashes (/) connect features of single elements, and commas (,) separate lexical elements.

Though some of these cases can be shown to have active counterparts, such as numbers 3 and 4, none of the others can. In fact, 1, 2, 5, and 6 show that the agent of the action is in the subject position (equivalent to Lexicase's Nom/PAT), in contrast with any definition of passive. At this point, 3 and 4 need not be considered sentences with passive voice but rather should be considered as having affective verbs with clausal dependents. The broadest generalization is that all the verbs are affective based on their distribution. Syntactically and morphologically, passive does not exist in Vietnamese. Though semantically passive voice may be considered one part of these affective verbs' function, in fact, passive voice need not be referred to at all within the Vietnamese linguistic system and can only be referred to in comparison with languages that do have passive.

## CONCLUSION

This paper has posited that the elements that have been considered markers of passive voice in Vietnamese are actually affective verbs. These verbs are extension verbs that require predicate complements which may or may not have subjects. These verbs are semantically unique in that they refer to the benefits, good or bad, of the complement (i.e. obligatory dependents) following them. The Western notion of passive is merely within the range of semantic equivalents of Vietnamese affective verbs, though passive voice does not actually exist in Vietnamese. This category of verbs, though recognized as unique, have been very little studied, and as such leave a significant gap in our knowledge of the syntax of human language, the so-called Universal Grammar.

## NOTES

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- 1 The term 'extension verb' comes from the Lexicase syntactic theory which was been most comprehensively discussed in Starosta (1988), though there have been some modifications in the formal representations. Lexicase is a dependency grammar; thus it does not utilize transformations or underlying representations. Instead, this monostratal theory concentrates on the relationships between words in sentences (between regents/heads and dependents) and uses features to designate lexical categories, syntactic distribution, and significant semantic categorical features (i.e., those which affect syntactic distribution) such as Case Relations. Technical terms are kept to a minimum with some explanation of those used that are not immediately apparent.
- 2 The notion "Universal Grammar" as applied to syntax has been most comprehensively in transformational syntactic theories, especially the Government and Binding framework. To be a universal quality of all human language, data from languages around the world must be considered. Thus, it is hoped that the data in this article, though meager, may contribute to the understanding of the potential range of linguistic qualities in languages and that the data presented here be considered in linguistic typological and theoretical studies.
- 3 Standard references include Chao (1968) and Li and Thompson (1980).
- 4 In the figure, Lexicase features are used, though kept to a minimum. The parts of speech used in the stemma include V (Verb) and N (Noun). The only case features used include Nom (nominative) and PAT (patient). Subcategories of the parts of speech which provide distributional specifications include affc (affective, a subcategory of extension verbs), cmmn (common, the widest class of nouns), pmn (pronoun), rslt (resultative to indicate aspectual completion), sttv (stative, verbs without actions), trns (transitive), and xtns (extension, verbs which require predicate complements). Subcategory features have plus or minus signs.

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# E.M. FORSTER'S DISSONANT SYMPHONY: SOME EFFECTS OF POLYPHONY IN *A PASSAGE TO INDIA*

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## ABSTRACT:

Many post-colonial critics have asserted that *A Passage to India* necessarily remains an imperialist text despite its ostensibly anti-imperialist stance. This paper draws upon the theories of Mikhail Bakhtin and Homi Bhabha in order to demonstrate that among the polyphony of voices in this text, the voices against British rule in India remain the most prominent despite the fact that this text issues from the colonial center.

"I want to see the real India," says Adela Quested in E.M. Forster's *A Passage to India*. But, as Aziz recognizes, "This pose of 'seeing India' ... was only a form of ruling India; no sympathy lay behind it" (306). While Adela's desire may outwardly appear to be charitable, her approach is ultimately dehumanizing. As Judith Scherer Herz points out: "One could argue in terms of a postcolonial critique that . . . [*A Passage to India*] is an example of the colonial appropriation of the other, that Aziz's situation is used as the occasion for Adela's spiritual crisis, his own crisis left to be inferred" (Scherer Herz 104). In "The Politics of Representation," Benita Parry similarly asserts that a text produced from the colonial center cannot represent the colonized but can only be a projection of the colonialist mindset:

Since the accession of critical methods concerned with representation as an ideological construct . . . the politics of the novel have demanded another mode of analysis, where the articulations of the fiction are related to the system of textual practices by which the metropolitan culture exercised its domination over the subordinate periphery . . . This novel enunciates a strange meeting from a position of political privilege, and it is not difficult to find rhetorical instances where the other is designated within a set of essential and fixed characteristics . . . The overt criticism of colonialism is phrased in the feeblest of terms. (Parry 27-28)

Yet Parry herself goes on to suggest that even from a post-colonial perspective, it remains difficult to classify *A Passage to India* as just another hegemonic colonial text:

To interpret the fiction as an act of recolonisation which reproduces the dominant colonial discourse would be to ignore—egregiously—the text's heterogeneous modes and its complex dialogic structure . . . Only by wilfully suppressing its initiation of an oppositional discourse is it possible to insert *A Passage to India* into the hegemonic tradition of British-Indian literature. (Parry 28)

Likewise, numerous contemporary critics—many of them Indian—assert that despite its necessary limitations, *A Passage to India* nonetheless remains significantly anti-imperialist. K. Natwar Singh, for example, calls this text "the outstanding example of an Englishman's honest effort to understand and interpret this country and its complex people" (Singh 1). Singh reminds readers that when initially published, this novel's anti-imperialism shocked the British establishment:

There is no doubt that thoughtful, honest, liberal minded Englishmen and intellectuals . . . began to look at the Indian situation from a different point of view . . . Forster made the British Raj stick in their throats and it wasn't a comfortable or comforting sensation to live with. (Singh 1-2)

Why, even from a post-colonial perspective, does it remain difficult to classify *A Passage to India* as just another hegemonic, colonialist text? In an attempt to address this question, this paper draws upon Mikhail Bakhtin's concepts of polyphony and heteroglossia, with its centripetal and centrifugal linguistic forces (Bakhtin 75) in order to demonstrate two points. First, the sheer polyphony of contending voices renders this text too complex to be contained by a singular interpretation; second, even so, amidst the multitude of textual voices, a voice of protest against British rule in India rings loudly and clearly.



Bakhtin views the novel in general as an orchestration of the "social diversity of speech types and . . . the differing individual voices that flourish under such conditions" (Bakhtin 114). Meanings are located in the dialogic interaction between voices, that is, intersections where contending voices collide and respond to one another. A multitude of dissonant voices, then—what Bakhtin calls "polyphony"—does not obscure meanings but *produces* them. Bakhtin's ideas resonate particularly well with Forster, who in *Aspects of the Novel* asserts something very similar, analogizing the novel to a complex "symphony" whose meanings—always plural, always dynamic—are located in "the relation between" notations, instruments and movements (*Aspects* 170).

In the polyphonic orchestration of *A Passage to India*, we hear voices from both within and outside the discourse of British colonialism. Outside are voices represented as Indian: Dr. Aziz, Professor Godbole, and voices of the land itself: "India—a hundred Indias—whispered outside beneath the indifferent moon" (15). More numerous and prominent, however, are the voices within colonial discourse: Ronny Heaslop, the bureaucrat who articulates colonialist policy and defends his own role by asserting, "I'm just a servant of the government" (50); and the more overtly malicious, racist voice of the colonialists supporting the status quo—the Callendars, Turtens, and others subsumed within Forster's category of "the club", whose collective voice functions as a sort of imperialist "chorus". Together, Ronny and "the club" speak the unitary language of imperialism that seeks to subjugate and impose uniformity upon the peoples of India.

Yet not all the voices within colonial discourse are voices of support for the status quo. Within colonialism there are also centrifugal or disruptive heteroglossic forces: Professor Fielding and Mrs. Moore, who each speak one of colonialism's "sub-languages". Fielding is the voice of liberal humanism which seeks betterment of the human condition in the here-and-now through education, while Mrs. Moore is the voice of Christianity favoring symbolic resolution on an other-worldly plane. Each character therefore represents a different aspect of what Homi Bhabha calls "the discourse of post-Enlightenment English colonialism, which speaks with a tongue that is forked, not false" (Bhabha 127); Mrs. Moore represents the metaphysical, Fielding the practical.

Since liberal humanism and Christianity are two of the primary tools of imperialist domination, it might initially appear erroneous to label these voices as disruptive, centrifugal forces. But it is important to observe that both Fielding and Moore do more than simply reproduce colonialist ideology; each of these characters also challenges the duplicity inherent at a particular discursive site. By disrupting the unitary colonial language even as they participate in it, Fielding and Moore unmask the inherent hypocrisies and expose the "forked tongue" to which Bhabha refers. Yet at the same time, while both Moore and Fielding use their particular "sub-language" ostensibly to protest British rule, their vocal protests alone are insufficient to effect any meaningful change in the colonial establishment. Here it becomes helpful to apply Bakhtin's observation that "the destinies of languages are interwoven with the individual destinies of speaking persons" (Bakhtin 117). An analysis that takes account of these characters' textual destinies as well as their spoken words makes even more apparent what Bhabha calls a "strategic limitation or prohibition *within* the authoritative discourse itself" (Bhabha 126-127).

It does not take much effort to establish Mrs. Moore as the voice of Christianity, nor is it difficult to see that she uses her Christian beliefs not to support the status quo (as is more typically the case), but to question it. She invokes Christian doctrine in protest against the haughty attitudes of the club; when Ronny claims, "We are not out here to be pleasant", she counters: "The English *are* out here to be pleasant. Because India is part of the earth. And God has put us on the earth to be pleasant to each other . . . Good will and more good will" (51). The version of Christianity which Mrs. Moore invokes, then, is at odds with the version used to justify the imperial project. She shows respect for the Muslim religion by removing her shoes and declaring "God is here" when she enters the mosque, demonstrating that she does not adhere to the

missionary doctrine set forth in the "Evidences of Christianity . . . which forbade any tolerance of heathen faiths" (Bhabha 127). She also unravels the "forked imperial tongue" in her later conversation with Mrs. Callendar and other members of the club:

"Why, the kindest thing one can do to a native is to let him die," said Mrs. Callendar.  
 "How if he went to heaven?" asked Mrs. Moore, with a gentle but crooked smile. (27)

Mrs. Moore's six-word rejoinder "stupefies" the club members and Ronny—who, we are told "approved of religion as long as it endorsed the National Anthem, but . . . objected when it attempted to influence his life" (52). Mrs. Moore's language reveals the hypocrisy inherent in the "partial diffusion" of Christianity which attempts to produce the colonial subject as a "partial presence". Her beliefs are both more inclusive and more fully realized than those held by the club members, suggesting an alternative interpretation of Christianity that could not be so easily used to authorize imperialism and may, instead, be invoked in an argument against it.

However, even Mrs. Moore's relatively enlightened version of Christianity proves inadequate as a critique of colonial rule. Because she focuses on a transcendental ideal rather than on the political realities of the historical moment, Mrs. Moore never argues for the system itself to change; she does not criticize imperialism so much as suggest that perhaps the British could at least be nicer about it. Her naivete is revealed at several points throughout the narrative; for example, at the Collector's Bridge Party when she fails to realize that the Indian women she has "befriended" will not be allowed to socialize with her. Though Mrs. Moore may be well-meaning, her innocent belief in "good will and more good will" can do little good, given that her idealism is not grounded in the harsh political terrain of British-ruled India. In the words of Aziz, her goodness "amounts to nothing, if put to the test of thought" (312). She leaves India before the dispute between Aziz and Adela is even resolved, then dies before she can finish her homeward journey. Her life ends neither in India nor England but at sea, somewhere in between—a fitting place for a character who speaks for an apolitical, ahistorical transcendence which, in the end, cannot belong in either place.

Setting aside Mrs. Moore for the time being, I turn now to a second centrifugal force, Professor Cyril Fielding—"a hard-bitten, good-tempered, intelligent fellow on the verge of middle age, with a belief in education" (62). As with Mrs. Moore's version of Christianity, Fielding's personal brand of humanism is more universal in its application than the worldview subscribed to by the club members:

He did not mind whom he taught; public schoolboys, mental defectives and policemen, had all come his way, and he had no objection to adding Indians . . . The world, he believed, is a globe of men who are trying to reach one another and can best do so by the help of good will plus culture and intelligence—a creed ill suited to Chandrapore, but he had come out too late to lose it. (62)

Like Mrs. Moore, Fielding distances himself from the rest of the Chandrapore English: "I'm rather a hermit, you know . . . Owing to my work and so on, I don't get up much to the club" (46). Also like Mrs. Moore, Fielding uses his particular sub-language to expose the inherent hypocrisy at a particular discursive site, as when he addresses the Police Superintendent following Adela's accusation of Aziz:

"I dare say you have the right to throw stones at a young man for doing that, but I haven't. I did the same at his age." So had the Superintendent of Police, [who] considered that the conversation had taken a turn that was undesirable. (168)

However benevolent Fielding's creed may be, just as with Mrs. Moore, Fielding is ultimately revealed to be naive. When Aziz is accused, Fielding resigns from the club and initially attempts to align himself with the Indians, even though "He regretted taking sides. To slink through India unlabelled was his aim" (175). He naively believes "the charge they are bringing against Aziz rests upon some mistake, and five minutes will clear it up" (164). But after Adela

recants, even though Fielding claims he would prefer to be celebrating with Aziz, he ends up taking Adela under his wing. Despite his good intentions, Fielding is nonetheless still a member of the colonial establishment, and goodwill has once again proven impotent in the face of colonial power. Though opposed to the overt racism of the club and claiming to have "no roots among his own people" (260), Fielding is hardly rooted in India. In the end he returns to England, as Aziz has suspected all along he would, thereby appearing to have betrayed his anti-imperialist ideals: "He had thrown in his lot with Anglo-India by marrying a countrywoman, and he was acquiring some of its limitations" (319). For all their "goodwill and more goodwill", then, neither Fielding nor Mrs. Moore are able to alter the entrenched colonial apparatus.

Many critics take the assertion that Fielding has "thrown in his lot with Anglo-India" at face value. Dalal, for instance, asserts that "as the novel approaches the end, we find Fielding a changed man . . . in marrying an English woman he has thrown his lot with the Anglo-Indians" (Dalal 102-103). Parry similarly argues that Fielding's marriage to an English woman represents a withdrawal of his sympathies from India:

The British make up their differences and close ranks, with even Fielding throwing in his lot with Anglo-India and so betraying his ideals . . . When Fielding, after his courageous stand against his countrymen and women, aligns himself with the rulers of India, he is submitting to the fact of imperialism, deferring to a mode of behaviour and feeling made and needed by an aggressive political system and conceding that his liberal principles and hopes of doing good in India exist only by favour of a Ronny Heaslop. (Parry 34)

But these readings neglect several factors. First, Fielding *does* attempt to continue his friendship with Aziz; it is Aziz who chooses not to respond to Fielding's contacts, suggesting that Aziz has rejected Fielding and what he represents rather than the other way around. Instead of reading Fielding's withdrawal from India as a betrayal of his ideals, then, Fielding's withdrawal may be read as an acknowledgment that Fielding cannot belong to India, no matter how much sympathy he may have for the Indian people. Along these lines, Meenakshi Mukherjee asserts that this text actually undermines European attempts to exoticize the Orient by self-reflexively displaying its own inadequacy to do so: "Forster . . . demonstrate[s] how the reality of India is too vast and complex to be put into a capsule for instant tourist consumption even when the tourist happens to be as earnest as Adela or as intuitive and sympathetic as Mrs. Moore" (Mukherjee 100-102). The text's self-recognition that the colonialist finally *cannot* represent the colonized is further underscored by the image of the empty, echoing Marabar Caves that form both the literal and metaphorical center of the novel. Fielding's departure may not reflect a withdrawal of sympathy so much as a textual recognition that the "real India" cannot be understood or represented by a cultural outsider—all the more so when there is a power differential between cultures and the outsider making the representation is in the dominant position.

Similarly, many critics read Mrs. Moore's deterioration and subsequent death as Forster's negation of Christianity, as well as of any other transcendent or religious vision which seeks the reconciliation of human differences on some other-worldly plane. As Sahni phrases it, "Judged by purely rational standards, she deteriorates into a state of psychic paralysis" (Sahni 111). M.K. Naik asserts that Forster toys with but ultimately rejects what Mrs. Moore represents: "The only decent Christian in the novel is Mrs. Moore, but she too deteriorates, as the narrative progresses" (Naik 68). And, as Dalal points out: "What does Mrs. Moore herself accomplish? She keeps herself aloof from Aziz's trial, and seems entirely despaired on her departure from India" (Dalal 89-90).

All these readings, however, fail to take account of the fact that while Mrs. Moore herself is indeed withdrawn from both India and the text, what she represents—a benevolent form of Christianity, transcendence, and the metaphysical resolution of differences—*returns* to both the text and India in the deferred form of her daughter Stella, who ends up married to Fielding. Any assessment of what Fielding's withdrawal might mean must consider that the "countrywoman" he weds is not just any Englishwoman but is *Mrs. Moore's daughter*. Through this marriage, the text orchestrates a rejoining of the split colonialist discourses represented by Moore and Fielding,

representing a conscious (though problematic) attempt to reconcile the polarized binary oppositions so characteristic of Western thought and colonialist discourse. Critics disagree as to whether Forster finally gives predominance to the concrete or to the metaphysical: Parry asserts that this text represents "a humanist's repudiation of symbolic concord . . . the permanent is dissolved in the acid of contingency" (Parry 40); Sahni takes the opposite position, stating that the novel's final message is in fact transcendental: "The caves symbolize pure space cut out of solid rocks. Hence they suggest the Infinite . . . Since the Absolute is beyond any fixed notions of empirical knowledge and valuation, it can be expressed only in negative terms—not this, not this" (Sahni 106-107). Both these analyses reveal an interpretive bias in favor of a one-sided, "either/or" solution. But the text's complexity and polyphony resist any singular interpretation, and even the marriage of Fielding and Stella Moore fails as a synthesis of binary oppositions within a singular, reconciling framework. The marriage itself is problematic; though we read that "in the language of theology, their union had been blessed" (318), at the same time Fielding tells Aziz: "She has ideas I don't share—indeed, when I'm away from her I think them ridiculous" (318). Thus, the union between Fielding and Stella Moore, while satisfactory in some respects, remains uneasy, suggesting that even a framework which purports to reconcile oppositions is itself inadequate. In *Aspects of the Novel*, Forster says "the idea the novelist must cling to" is "expansion" (*Aspects* 170); Bakhtin similarly argues that, as an utterance anticipating future utterances, the novel cannot ever achieve closure (Bakhtin 89-96).

Clearly, Scherer Herz and Parry are correct that as a text which issues from the colonial center, *A Passage to India* finally cannot represent India. As an utterance which both produces and is produced by the discourse of colonialism, *A Passage to India* can finally only represent itself. The colonialist text *can*, however, critique, question and challenge its own discourse from within—and against the polyphonic and dissonant background of *A Passage to India*, the colonialist voices against colonialism remain clearly audible.

*A Passage to India* concludes with Aziz envisioning a scenario that was eventually to prove eerily prophetic:

India a nation! What an apotheosis! . . . Aziz in an awful rage danced this way and that, not knowing what to do, and cried: "Down with the English anyhow. That's certain. Clear out, you fellows, double quick, I say. We may hate one another, but we hate you most. If I don't make you go, Ahmed will, Karim will, if it's fifty-five hundred years we shall get rid of you, yes, we shall drive every blasted Englishman into the sea, and then...you and I shall be friends."

"Why can't we be friends now?" said the other, holding him affectionately. "It's what I want. It's what you want."

But the horses didn't want it—they swerved apart; the earth didn't want it, sending up rocks through which riders must pass single file; the temples, the tank, the jail, the palace, the birds, the carrion, the Guest House, that came into view as they issued from the gap and saw Mau beneath; they didn't want it, they said in their hundred voices, "No, not yet," and the sky said, "No, not there." (322)

Though Bakhtin's concepts of dialogism, polyphony and heteroglossia are widely discussed among contemporary scholars, he also articulates a less frequently discussed concept: the prophetic (Bakhtin 100). According to Bakhtin, Dostoevsky had such a "prophetic" quality, deriving from his ability both to hear the myriad and competing voices of his era, and to imagine a hypothetical future dialogue taking place between them:

He heard both the loud, recognized, reigning voices of the epoch, that is, the reigning dominant ideas (official and unofficial), as well as voices still weak, ideas not yet fully emerged, latent ideas . . . and ideas that were just beginning to ripen, embryos of future worldviews . . . Thus on the plane of the present there came together and quarreled past, present, and future . . . He brought together ideas and worldviews, which in real life were absolutely estranged and deaf to one another, and forced them to quarrel. He extended, as it were, these distantly separated ideas by means of a dotted line to the point of their dialogic intersection. In so doing he anticipated future dialogic encounters between ideas which in his time were still dissociated. He foresaw new linkages of ideas, the emergence of new voice-ideas and changes in the arrangement of all the voice-ideas in the worldwide dialogue. (Bakhtin 100)

The prophetic quality of *A Passage to India*, with its conclusion prefiguring India's independence over twenty years later, could be interpreted as a similar imagining of voices in future dialogue. The text does stop short of prescribing political solutions. But, as Singh asserts: "As a novelist it was not Forster's responsibility to find political solutions. Morally there could be no justification for one race ruling over another. The problem was posed and an indictment made—the British Raj might win a few battles but it was losing the war" (Singh 2). As a textual instance of self-interrogation rather than a representation of India, then, *A Passage to India* does indeed form a part of that anti-imperialist indictment.

Amidst unresolved ambiguities, contested meanings and competing voices—that is, polyphony—one idea continues to resonate loudly: the eventual demise of the British Empire is inevitable, not only from the Indian standpoint but, ironically, from the colonialist standpoint as well. Fielding and Moore represent centrifugal forces from within the colonial establishment, disrupting colonialist discourse even as they participate in it through both the languages they speak and the textual fates they meet. By considering their voices in more depth, it becomes evident that the discourses used to justify British imperialism in India contain within themselves the seeds of their own demise.

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# TWO LANGUAGES, TWO CULTURES, AND TWO VOCAL APPARATI? SOCIOLINGUISTIC EXPLANATION FOR PHONETIC PHENOMENA IN BILINGUAL SPEAKERS OF KOREAN AND JAPANESE

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## ABSTRACT

Previously, variation in voice pitch has been attributed to either the speaker's anatomy, the speaker's health or emotional state, or to the structure of the language being spoken. However, this paper asserts that, by examining the pitch behavior of native speakers of Korean and Japanese when they speak in their native languages and in English, another factor, namely, cultural context of the language spoken, can also contribute to this variation.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Even with technological advancements that have produced sophisticated computer programs which can analyze human voices and produce simulated speech, prosody, in general, remains an aspect of language of which much remains to be understood. Although we frequently infer a variety of meanings from the 'tone' of someone's voice, that is, how something is said as opposed to what is said, we are still not certain what constitutes variation in voice pitch, for instance. Linguists, especially phoneticians, have, on various occasions, referred to anatomical characteristics of the speakers, the emotional state and health of the speakers, and the structural characteristics of the particular language being spoken to account for the variation in fundamental frequency, one aspect of voice which has a strong relation to voice pitch. Furthermore, phoneticians and speech pathologists have reported sex- and age-linked variations in fundamental frequency often (see Baken 1987 and Henton 1989 for review). For instance, Fant (1956 in Laver 1994) has generalized that the average speaking fundamental frequency for European languages is approximately 220 Hz for women and 120 Hz for men. Cruttenden (1986) posits similar values, 225 Hz for women, 120 Hz for men, and 265 Hz for children without specifying a particular language or language group. These values are very close to those that have been reported in empirical studies concerning speakers of American English (c.f. Snidecor 1943; Hollien and Jackson 1973; Copper and Sorensen 1981; Fitch and Holbrook 1970; Nittrouer et al. 1990, etc.). On the other hand, Onishi (1981) indicates the average value for women to be 340 Hz and for men 150 Hz. It is not specified whether the average value is supposed to refer to Japanese people only or whether it is supposed to be read as a universal, but the drastic difference in the average he posits for women, 340 Hz, and the average posited by European and American researchers, approximately 220 Hz, as well as the fact that the average posited by Onishi for women, 340 Hz, is a lot higher than the average given by Western phoneticians for children, approximately 265 Hz, raises the question of what might account for these discrepancies. Using the speech of native speakers of Korean and Japanese when they speak in English and their respective native languages, this study argues that social factors, very rarely considered in previous linguistic and phonetic analyses of prosodic phenomena, play an important role in the production of voice<sup>1</sup>. In fact, by showing that the average fundamental frequency of these bilingual speakers changes across languages, I contend that voice characteristics such as fundamental frequency are more culturally determined than they are constrained by the speaker's anatomy, the speaker's emotional and health states, or the linguistic structure of the language being spoken.

## 2. PREVIOUS TREATMENT OF PITCH DIFFERENCES

Perhaps the most common explanation for variations in the characteristics of voice pitch is the physical makeup of the speaker. Assuming a direct relationship between anatomy and voice pitch, the following passage, taken from Laver and Trudgill (1979), is representative of a large

portion of the phonetic as well as medical literature on pitch (also see Baken 1987; Colton et al. 1990; Cruttenden 1986; Hollien 1960, 1962; Ladefoged 1962, 1982; Lehiste 1970; Onishi 1981):

Tall, well-built man will tend to have a long vocal tract and large vocal folds, his voice quality will reflect the length of his vocal tract by having correspondingly low ranges of formant frequencies, and his voice dynamic features will indicate the dimensions and mass of vocal folds by a correspondingly low range of fundamental frequency (Laver and Trudgill 1979:7-8).

Not surprisingly, this direct relationship between physical properties and voice pitch has been used to explain the difference in fundamental frequency across sexes. It is generally stated that being physically larger than women, men have thicker and longer vocal cords, and therefore, they have lower voices. The next passage, from a leading phonetic dictionary designed especially for linguists, exhibits this commonly accepted belief:

The voice of men, whose vocal cords are long, stands at about 150 Hz, and that of women, whose vocal cords are short with greater fundamental frequency, stands at about 340 Hz (Onishi 1981: 439).

As these two passages indicate, the correlation between physical and voice characteristics, especially that of fundamental frequency, is often taken for granted. This correlation is usually explained in the following manner. Pitch is proportional to the frequency of the vibration of the vocal cords. The greater the frequency, the higher the pitch, and the smaller the frequency, the lower the pitch. Longer and thicker vocal cords vibrate more slowly and thus produce a lower frequency which results in low pitch voice while shorter and thinner vocal cords which vibrate at a higher frequency produce voices higher in pitch. However, although this generalization is often assumed within the field of phonetics and speech pathology, experimental findings are not conclusive and they rarely support the correlation between speaking fundamental frequency and physical characteristics (c.f. Hollien and Jackson 1973; Graddol and Swann 1983; Tsuge et al. 1987; Kunzel 1989; Suzuki 1991). Graddol and Swann's (1989) statement that "The relationship between body size and aspects of voice certainly holds for animals but it seems difficult to establish for humans" ultimately seems to be the most accurate summary of the present state of knowledge.

Just as it is widely accepted that anatomy affects production of voice pitch, it is also commonly asserted that the emotional state of the speaker as well as the speaker's state of health have a great influence on pitch (c.f. Abercrombie 1967; Baken 1987; Colton et al. 1990; Fry 1970; Laver and Trudgill 1979; Malmberg 1970; O'Shaughnessy 1987). We all know that a sore throat or stuffy nose often affects one's voice. There are studies reporting that laryngeal pathology (c.f. Fritzell et al. 1982; Hecker and Kreul 1971) and esophageal pseudophonation (c.f. Ship 1967) alter one's fundamental frequency. Also, it is equally well-known that our pitch varies when we are bored, excited, angry, or happy. Among Telugu speakers, for example, it was observed that the degree of emotion generated from sorrow, anger, and fear correlated with a rise in the fundamental frequency measurements (Deva 1957, 1960 in Fry 1970). Taking this a step further, researchers have observed that pitch as well as other prosodic cues reflect an individual's personality and correlate with other personality tests (c.f. Markel et al. 1964, 1973 in Colton et al. 1990; Ray 1986). Thus, a person who uses a variety of different pitches may be perceived as outgoing, and similarly, a monotone voice may characterize boredom and may lead to someone being characterized as a dull or withdrawn person. In a study concerning voice characteristics and personal attributions, higher pitch voices were judged less competent and less benevolent (Brown et al. 1973, 1974). Another similar study found that high-pitched voices were judged less truthful, less emphatic, less 'potent' (smaller, thinner, faster), and more nervous (Apple et al. 1979). However, despite the large amount of research in this area and despite the fact that what is considered sorrow, anger, fear, and truthfulness no doubt varies from culture to culture, cultural factors themselves have rarely been a focus in any of these studies.

While studies claiming physiological and emotional influences on voice pitch have found the source of pitch variance to be located within the individual, there is a third set of research

that finds the cause to be in the structure of the language being spoken. Reports that speakers of different languages use different pitch levels have informed us, for instance, that Spanish is spoken on typically lower pitch ranges than French (Brosnahan and Malmberg 1970 in Laver 1994) and that the average of Polish males' fundamental frequencies is considerably higher than American males' (Majewski et al. 1972). Similarly, it is also reported that different languages differ in the width of the pitch range with the typical range in Mandarin, for instance, being greater than in French (Sneppe and Wei 1984). Furthermore, from a microprosodic level, phoneticians have shown that the average pitch of vowels shows systematic correlation with vowel height. This difference among vowels is generally called intrinsic pitch and the difference may be as much as 25 Hz (Laver 1994). Researchers have reported such findings across different languages such as American English, Danish, French, and Korean; thus these findings seem classifiable as a language-universal phenomenon. From this perspective, Todaka (1993) predicts that Japanese would be low in pitch in comparison with American English. This prediction was formulated by considering the phonemic frequency counts in natural speech, that is, how frequently low vowels occur in those two languages. However, an empirical study by Yamazawa and Hollien (1992) that focused on female speakers of English and Japanese found the opposite result. They found that female native speakers of Japanese employed a higher fundamental frequency when speaking in Japanese than female native speakers of American English did when they were speaking in English. Yamazawa and Hollien (1992) argue that the pitch difference was a result of the structural differences between the two languages, Japanese being a pitch accent language and English being a stress accent language. However, the present work asserts that, by analyzing the speech of women as well as men, pitch differences that occur across languages are more readily accounted for by considering the cultural context surrounding the languages rather than considering the structural characteristics of the languages themselves or the physiological and anatomical differences of the speakers. The next section provides an explication of the experimental procedures.

### 3. DATA AND ANALYTIC PROCEDURES

In order to best discern the extent to which culture exerts influence over pitch production, native speakers of Japanese and Korean, proficient enough in English to be considered bilinguals, were chosen as subjects.<sup>2</sup> In total, there were twenty-two subjects: six female native speakers of Japanese, six male native speakers of Japanese, five female native speakers of Korean, and five male native speakers of Korean. All of the subjects were students at the University of Hawai'i at the time of the study. The age level of the subjects ranged from 21 to 47 for females and 21 to 33 for males. Each subject was asked to read a total of twenty sentences, ten in English and ten in their native language.<sup>3</sup> The English sentences were taken from Ladefoged (1982), and for the purposes of this paper, the Japanese and Korean translations of those ten sentences were used.<sup>4</sup> The order of the sentences was held constant for each subject, but the order of the languages was alternated. In other words, some subjects were asked to read the English sentences first and others were asked to read the sentences in their native language first. The recordings took place at the phonetics laboratory at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. The fundamental frequency of each individual subject's voice was measured using a Visi-pitch 6087DS and Computer Lab Model 4300B Version 5.X which were manufactured by Kay Elemetrics Corporation.

### 4. RESULTS

Divided according to language, Tables 1 and 2 below show the results of the analyses.



TABLE 1. Japanese subjects' overall F0 (fundamental frequency) (Hz)

Subjects	English	Japanese		
	Highest	Lowest	Highest	Lowest
JF1	260	151	276	175
JF2	270	243	289	179
JF3	231	178	256	177
JF4	267	180	294	186
JF5	230	160	269	175
JF6	252	142	300	194
JM1	136	85	128	83
JM2	155	101	160	101
JM3	124	109	133	100
JM4	198	121	204	122
JM5	148	113	142	110
JM6	141	110	138	110

Table 1 shows the overall frequency levels for native speakers of Japanese. As is apparent, all of the female subjects (JF1-6) employed a significantly higher pitch level when speaking in Japanese than when speaking in English. For the male subjects (JM1-6), there is no apparent pattern across the two languages.

TABLE 2. Korean subjects' overall F0 (Hz)

Subjects	English	Korean		
	Highest	Lowest	Highest	Lowest
KF1	252	206	274	195
KF2	267	179	267	190
KF3	253	177	259	177
KF4	263	210	279	200
KF5	243	192	256	199
KM1	163	130	170	117
KM2	131	104	131	103
KM3	140	115	152	110
KM4	156	124	159	118
KM5	143	121	149	123

Table 2 indicates the overall frequency levels for native speakers of Korean. Korean females (KF1-5) also employed a higher pitch level when speaking in Korean than when speaking in English. Korean males (KM1-5) also use a higher pitch voice in Korean than in English but, compared to their female counterparts, there is a much lesser degree of differentiation between languages. Thus, it can be said that these results indicate some distinct trends. The two tables show that both the Japanese and Korean female subjects employed a relatively higher pitch level when speaking in their native language than when speaking in English while no variation for Japanese males and only slight variation for Korean males can be seen across languages.

Tables 3 and 4 below indicate the difference in fundamental frequency measured for each speaker by subtracting their highest average fundamental frequency when speaking their native language from their highest average fundamental frequency when speaking in English. Table 3 shows the values for Japanese subjects and Table 4 shows the values for Korean subjects.

TABLE 3. Difference in highest average F0, Japanese subjects

Highest average F0 for Japanese minus highest average F0 for English

JF1	16	JM1	-8
JF2	19	JM2	5
JF3	25	JM3	9
JF4	27	JM4	6
JF5	39	JM5	-6
JF6	49	JM6	-3

TABLE 4. Difference in highest F0, Korean subjects

Highest average F0 for Korean minus highest average F0 for English

KF1	22	KM1	7
KF2	0	KM2	0
KF3	6	KM3	12
KF4	16	KM4	3
KF5	13	KM5	5

Concerning females subjects, it can be seen that the difference between the two languages is more pronounced in the Japanese female subjects than it is in Korean female subjects. There is a general tendency for the Korean native speakers, both females and males, to use a higher pitch when they speak in Korean than when they speak in English. For Japanese males, one half of the subjects employed higher pitch levels—as indicated by the positive values—and the other half used lower pitch levels in Japanese—as indicated by the negative values—as compared to the pitch levels they employed when speaking English.

## 5. DISCUSSION

Following Yamazawa and Hollien (1992), it, at first, seems as though it would be possible to explain the result that Japanese females employed higher pitch when speaking in their native language than when speaking in English in terms of the structure of the two languages. However, such an explanation runs into problems when the results of the Japanese male subjects are considered. Unlike Japanese females, Japanese males show very little variation across the two languages. If, as Yamazawa and Hollien (1992) claim, the difference in linguistic structure was the cause of Japanese females using higher pitch in Japanese than in English, then we would also expect Japanese males to use a higher pitch when speaking in Japanese. Yet, the results clearly show that this was not the case. Thus, the sharp contrast between the fundamental frequencies used by Japanese females and Japanese males across the two languages make it impossible to posit that it was a structural difference that caused the female speakers to raise their pitch in Japanese.

Along similar lines, it also needs to be pointed out that it is just as unlikely that an explanation in terms of the anatomical features, physiological characteristics, or emotional states of the speakers can account for the results. When the same woman, for example, says something first in English and then its equivalent in Japanese, the fundamental frequency she uses is different, but her physical attributions do not change. She is using the same vocal cords that are attached to the same body; yet the fundamental frequency is different. Likewise, given the controlled laboratory conditions of the study, it is very unlikely that the subjects suddenly experienced a change in emotional state or a change in health that would account for the variance in pitch across languages. Thus, with just these few observations, it has been shown that it is nearly impossible to explain the variation in the data in terms of anatomy and/or emotional states.

While it does not seem possible to account for the results of this study in terms of the structures of the languages, physiological differences, or variations in emotional states, a more plausible explanation for the results obtained in this study may be found within the greater cultural contexts surrounding the three languages. More specifically, it can be contended that the

cause of the variation in the production of fundamental frequency found in this study lies in the different conceptualizations of gender in the three cultures, namely, Japan, Korea, and the United States. First, we can start by noting that in Japanese society, a high-pitched voice is typically directly linked to the female role. For example, Loveday (1986), in a study comparing voice pitch in Japanese and British English, stated that "high pitch level is employed for distinctly different sociosemiotic functions in the two language communities. In Japanese a high pitch level serves to express a stereotypically female role while in British English high pitch level is a means of expressing politeness adopted by both sexes" (1986:86). In fact, having a high pitch level in Japanese seems to have distinct 'advantages' for female speakers. In a study in which a variety of different female pitch levels were played via tape recorder for both Japanese female and male listener/subjects, Ohara (1994) found that the higher the pitch of an utterance, the more likely the possessor of the voice was perceived to be cute, soft, gentle, kind, polite, quiet, young, and beautiful and less likely to be perceived as stubborn, selfish, strong, and definite. Furthermore, a woman with a higher pitch voice was judged more likely to be able to get married to someone 'desirable' while the lower the pitch, the more a woman was perceived as being more likely to remain single for life (Ohara 1993). Based on the results of this study, Ohara (1993) asserted that Japanese society expects its female members to sound cute, soft, gentle, kind, polite, quiet, young, and beautiful, with repercussions, i.e., being perceived as unlikely to find a husband, for those females who do not conform to such expectations. Especially in Japanese society, where being able to get married is considered an ultimate sign of femininity (Edwards 1989), being perceived as not being able to get married can be a very serious problem.

Korean female speakers seem to face similar social pressures concerning pitch behavior, although the literature seems to indicate these expectations are not as severe as those placed on Japanese females. It has been suggested that gender roles in Korea are more pronounced than in the United States, but it has also been claimed that between Japan and Korea, gender roles are more salient in Japan than they are in Korea (c.f. Sohn and Hijirida 1986: 429; also see Sohn and Hijirida 1986; Shin 1990). Ihm (1993) states that in Korea, indirect ways of expressing oneself are thought to be one of the virtues of women, and thus, when they are using the same verb form as males, Korean females pronounce it with longer, higher, and softer intonation and tone of voice in order to give their utterances a delicate, indirect sense.

While it seems that both Japanese and Korean female speakers may have social reasons for making sure that the level of their pitch is high, this does not seem to hold in general within the United States. Concerning American culture, McConnell-Ginet (1978) has stated, "Men lose by sounding woman-like, whereas women do not lose (perhaps they even gain in some contexts) by sounding manlike" (549). Similarly, Sachs et al. (1973) have remarked, "Typically, in our [American] culture, having an 'effeminate' voice is a problem for a man. With the amount of overlap in physical structure that exists between men and women, perhaps some men learn, among other things, to lower their formants in order to sound more masculine. We expect that having a voice perceived as 'low pitched' is not a severe handicap for a woman, although an aggressive, 'masculine' speech style may be" (1973: 82). Thus, it appears that the social meanings attached to voice pitch vary across cultures. For females in Japanese society and to a certain extent for those in Korean society, a certain social value is attached to a high pitch voice which serves as an incentive to females to make sure the pitch of their voice is quite high. Yet, in contrast, there seems to be no such incentive for speakers of American English.

These conceptualizations of femininity seem to correlate quite remarkably with the results of the study. Since the Japanese and Korean subjects in this study were bilingual speakers already assimilated into American culture to at least a certain degree, we can then understand how it could be the Japanese women who, because of the social value placed on high pitch in Japanese culture, raised their voice pitch when speaking in their native language. However, feeling no such pressure to raise their pitch when speaking English, Japanese females are able to use much lower levels of pitch. Likewise, if it is indeed true that the cultural context of the Korean language is such that

women are expected to raise their pitch more than American females but not as much as Japanese females, then we would expect them, as the results indicate, to use higher pitch when speaking in Korean than when in English but not as high a pitch as that used by Japanese women. It can be speculated that Japanese as well as Korean females might be using less constrained, more 'natural' ways of speaking when speaking in English and these values are closer to the values of American females speaking English.

In terms of the male speakers, one possible explanation for why the Japanese males' pitch did not shift across the two languages and for why the Korean males raised their pitch only slightly when speaking Korean may be that in both Japanese and Korean societies, it can be said that male gender is viewed as "unmarked". This means that males do not need to utilize pitch as a mode to separate themselves from the other gender. They may simply let females do the job of distinguishing themselves from the "unmarked" gender. It can also be asserted that in those three language communities, the meaning of pitch use by males remains similar while for females there are some differences in meanings which account for the variations in the production of voice pitch among females.

## 6. CONCLUSION

By using empirical data, this study has put forth some evidence that the production of voice pitch is influenced to a large extent by the cultural context of the language being spoken. Given the significant amount of sociolinguistic research which has demonstrated that the production of aspects of language such as phonology and syntax are heavily influenced and constrained by culture (i.e., Duranti 1994; Duranti and Goodwin 1992; Labov 1966, 1972; Reynolds 1985; Shibamoto 1985, 1987; Smith 1992; Trudgill 1974), the finding that culture also plays an important role within phonetics seems reasonable and might even be seen as a predictable course of development. In the future, it is hoped that by considering culture within the area of phonetics and speech pathology, we will not only continue to improve our technical knowledge of how human voices are produced and perceived, but we will also further our understanding of how the use of language differs across cultures and languages.

## NOTES

- 1 There are some studies which have related phonetic behavior with sociocultural phenomena. Concerning native speakers of American English, it has been claimed that the differences in vowel formant frequencies exceed what would be predicted from physical differences alone (Mattingly 1966; Sachs 1975). Furthermore, using the tape-recorded voices of pre-adolescent children matched for physical size, where no differences in vocal apparatus should exist, it has been demonstrated that listener/subjects were able to identify the sex of children from their voice based on acoustic cues alone (Sachs et al. 1973). As a possible reason for such phenomena, it was argued that "The children could be learning culturally determined patterns that are viewed as appropriate for each sex" (Sachs et al. 1973:80). Similar findings have been reported for Scottish (Lee et al. 1995).
- 2 The term bilingual is used to refer to someone who is proficient in a language other than his/her native language. It is not used in any theoretical sense. Those subjects used in the present study were proficient enough in English to be admitted to the University of Hawai'i at Manoa and attend regular university classes conducted in English.
- 3 Detailed discussion of the Japanese subjects' pitch behavior is reported in Ohara (1992). In addition to reading sentences, the Korean subjects were also asked to carry out a dialogue with the researcher in both English and Korean. A more detailed discussion of this aspect of the study can be found in Ohara (1996).

- 4 The Korean and Japanese versions were translated by the researcher. For the Korean translations, the researcher received help from native Korean speakers. These sentences can be seen in Appendix 1.

## APPENDIX 1

### English, Japanese, and Korean reading materials

The girl gave the money to her father.  
He wanted to go to Germany.  
Is water a liquid?  
Do you want some coffee?  
Do you take cream in your coffee?  
Where did you put the paper?  
Give me some apples, oranges, and peaches.  
His name is Peter.  
I think so.  
How are you?

Onna no ko wa otoosan ni okane o ageta.  
Kare wa doitsu e ikitakatta.  
Mizu wa ekitai desu ka?  
Koohii ikaga desu ka?  
Koohii ni kuriimu ireru?  
Shinbun o doko ni oita?  
Ringo to orenji to momo o kudasai.  
Kare no na wa piitaa desu.  
Soo omoimasu.  
Ogenki desu ka?

Yoja ai ka aboji ege tonul chuotta.  
Ku nun Togil e kago sip'o haetta.  
Murun eakch'e imnikka?  
K'op'i chom tusigesso yo?  
K'op'i e k'urimu ul noulkka?  
Sinmun ul odi e tuossumnikka?  
Sagwa wa kyul kwa pae rul chom chuse yo.  
Ku pun ui songham un p'it'o imnida.  
Annyong hase yo?

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# DEFINING A ROLE FOR PHONOLOGICAL MEMORY IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

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## ABSTRACT

Learning a second language consists, at least in part, of learning new words. Recent research has suggested that the phonological loop is a necessary component for building a second language knowledge base in long-term memory (Ellis, 1996 a and b). The current study explores the role of phonological working memory in second language learning from an information-processing perspective.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the possible effect of a learner's L2 proficiency level on phonological working memory ability. Beginning and advanced students completed an L2 word copying test. Preliminary results suggest that phonological working memory ability does not fluctuate with L2 proficiency level. To the extent that this ability does not vary with proficiency level, it can be established as a component of language learning aptitude and a source of individual differences.

## INTRODUCTION

Several recent studies highlight the potential role for working memory (WM) in theories of language learning (e.g., Ellis; Ellis and Sinclair; Harrington; Harrington and Sawyer; Lehto; McLaughlin; McLaughlin and Heredia; Service; Service and Kohonen; Speidel). Of particular interest is the possibility that there is a WM component which is responsible for the processing and temporary storage of new phonological material. This part of WM could prove to be important for understanding how learners deal with new words in a second language, for developing current theories of second language acquisition (SLA), and for clarifying the extent to which WM may be responsible for individual differences in second language learning.

### Memory

The framework for memory that will be used throughout this paper is that of Baddeley and Hitch. The WM model is built around three components: (a) the central executive; (b) the visuo-spatial sketchpad; and (c) the phonological loop (Baddeley, 1992). It is the last of these three, the phonological loop, that will be the primary focus of the current study.

The phonological loop is the best understood component of the WM model. Studies have focused heavily on this piece of the model creating a line of research that is proving valuable to the field of language acquisition by linking the phonological loop to the short-term processing and storage of language input. The experiments used to explore the phonological loop often involve an articulatory suppression condition. Under this condition, subjects are required to continually repeat a word (e.g., "blah," "one," or "the") during a memory task thereby interfering with their ability to rehearse and effectively store the material targeted for recall. This interference forces subjects to use some process other than rehearsal to remember the material. Consequently, if subjects are able to remember the material equally well with and without rehearsal, then rehearsal would not appear to be very important for recall.

Baddeley et al. (1984) conducted five experiments aimed at attributing the basic functions of the phonological loop to two components: the phonological store and the articulatory rehearsal process. The first three experiments (two tests of memory for word sequences and one test of memory for letter sequences) used words and letter strings that sounded similar to one another. This demonstrates that the phonological store is responsible for the phonological similarity effect according to which words that have similar phonological representations are more difficult to recall. The fourth and fifth experiments (word recall under suppression) show that articulatory



rehearsal is responsible for the word length effect which states that longer words are more difficult to recall. According to these results, the phonological store is sound-based and sensitive to the amount of material needing to be recalled.

Experiments have been conducted with L2 vocabulary, nonwords resembling the target language, and with L1 vocabulary. By imposing an articulatory suppression condition, results have shown that it is difficult for subjects to recall material only when the words were novel, that is from an L2, or when they were nonwords created to resemble the phonotactic patterns of a foreign language (the resulting pseudowords can be thought of as novel L2 words to the extent that their phonological and morphological structure resembles the L2). Recalling known words or forming associations between familiar vocabulary items does not require the same processing that new verbal material does. For this reason, the phonological loop is a particularly salient area of research for child L1 acquisition and for SLA with both child and adult learners.

#### A framework: information-processing

The larger framework for this study is based on an information-processing model. McLaughlin and Heredia (1996) present a clear overview of information-processing and its application to SLA research. In their introduction they state, "The fundamental notion of the information-processing approach to psychological inquiry is that complex behavior builds on simple processes" (p. 213). The primary characteristics of the information-processing approach are as follows: (a) "Humans are viewed as autonomous and active;" (b) "The mind is a general-purpose, symbol-processing system;" (c) "Complex behavior is composed of simpler processes. These processes are modular;" (d) "Component processes can be isolated and studied independently of other processes;" (e) "Processes take time; therefore, predictions about reaction time can be made;" and (f) "The mind is a limited-capacity processor" (p. 214). Within this information-processing framework, WM is viewed as an integral component in the language learning process as well as a potential source of individual differences. McLaughlin and Heredia (1996) conclude that "individual differences in language learning aptitude are due in large measure to the joint function of availability of knowledge about the target language and the speed and efficiency of WM" (p. 225). Further research on the function of WM is valuable in that it can help us isolate and define the cognitive processes necessary for SLA.

According to Ellis, a learner begins with the sounds of a language, building these into words, chunking common groups of words in LTM, and extrapolating grammatical knowledge from this developing database. He makes an argument for the centrality of short-term phonological memory, and its interaction with long-term memory, in all aspects of language acquisition. Due to the interaction between STM and LTM, this is not purely a bottom-up approach. A learner's ability to sequence language, and to learn from processed sequences, reflects individual learner differences in acquisition. Ellis (1996a) concludes that,

Short-term representation and rehearsal allow the eventual establishment of long-term sequence information for language. In turn, there are reciprocal interactions between long-term sequence representations and short-term storage whereby long-term sequence information allows the chunking of WM contents that accord with these consolidated patterns, thus extending the span of short-term storage for chunkable materials...it is this long-term knowledge base of word sequences that serves as the database for the acquisition of language grammar (p. 115).

As the learner builds vocabulary knowledge in the second language, it may become more efficient to process new words based on the saliency of their semantic features rather than their phonology. Ellis and Sinclair (1996) explain this development as follows:

The more the long-term storage of frequent language sequences, the more easily can they serve as labels for meaning reference. The more automatic their access, the more fluent is the resultant language use, concomitantly freeing attentional resources for analysis of the meaning of the message, either for comprehension or for production planning (p. 247).

It is not known if there is an advantage with an expanded LTM due to semantic associations or if these associations are made easier because of existing LTM phonological representations (e.g., Brown and Hulme). The point has also been made that as learners are able to do more complex tasks in the L2, the freed up resources granted by not needing to attend to phonological features of the input are used elsewhere. Specifically, they are allocated to higher-level processing which is required by the more complex comprehension and production tasks that are attempted by learners at higher proficiency levels (e.g., McLaughlin and Heredia).

### Impaired memory and articulatory suppression

Studies conducted with impaired subjects are relevant to other studies on memory because they are able to demonstrate the function of certain components of WM in isolation from the operation of the complete memory system. Baddeley et al. (1988) studied the case of PV, a patient with severe short-term memory impairment. The experiments with PV demonstrate the effect that memory impairment can have on specific tasks while leaving other memory capacities relatively untouched. PV was able to process words, associate pairs of words with known meanings, and recall words when presented visually. She was unable to repeat nonwords, associate nonwords with words (or L2 words with L1 words), or recall words presented auditorily. Her impairment was specific to the phonological store component (and not processing) of the phonological loop. The results of this study point to the importance of the short-term phonological storage of new words as a necessary step toward vocabulary learning. The authors suggest that this might represent a necessary "intermediate stage, holding information and allowing it to be gradually transferred to some form of long-term phonological store" (p. 594).

Papagno et al. (1991) examined the interference of articulatory suppression with adults learning a foreign language. The results show that several factors interact to produce varied outcomes: (a) if the L1 and the L2 are similar, phonologically, the effect of articulatory suppression is reduced; (b) L1 paired associate learning is not disrupted by articulatory suppression; but (c) paired associate learning of non-words with phonological patterns dissimilar to the L1 is impacted by articulatory suppression. It can be concluded from this study that rehearsal is necessary for L2 vocabulary learning when words in the L1 and L2 are very different (i.e., Italian and Russian, English and Finnish) and to a lesser extent when words are more similar in the two languages (i.e., English and Russian). According to these results, the adult L2 learner is able to draw on semantic resources, aiding in the memory process, and bypass the phonological loop to some extent. This does not indicate that rehearsal is not also beneficial for adult L2 learners, rather that they have a semantic base to compensate for the phonological loop if it is not available. This finding is consistent with studies (L1 and non-word) done with children learning language (e.g., Chi, Gathercole et al.) who have to rely more heavily on the phonological loop until a sufficient LTM semantic base is available for learning.

### Adult second language learning

Harrington and Sawyer found a positive correlation between a learner's L2 WM capacity (reading span) and L2 reading skill (as measured by the TOEFL grammar and reading sections and a cloze test). The researchers recognize that their operationalization of 'reading skill' is limited and that correlations between WM capacity and reading skill need to be investigated more carefully. In addition, it is not known if the relationship between L1 and L2 WM capacity is interdependent or separate (e.g., Harrington). Harrington and Sawyer (1992) point out that understanding this relationship is important for developing accurate models of L2 aptitude and acquisition, "...if WM capacity differences can be shown to be consistent across the learner's L1 and L2 and independent of relative proficiency in the L2, it can provide insight into models of L2 aptitude and skill development" (p. 34).

Ellis and Beaton point to the following findings in support of the role of the phonological loop in SLA: (a) Phonological STM (as measured by performance on pseudoword repetition and copying tests) has been shown to predict vocabulary acquisition and foreign language achievement (e.g., Service, 1989); (b) deficiencies in phonological STM impair the ability to learn novel vocabulary (e.g., Baddeley et al., 1988); and (c) the articulatory suppression condition has been shown to interfere with vocabulary learning when semantic associations between the learner's L1 and the L2 are not easy to make which leads to the conclusion that the rehearsal function is important to the learning process (e.g., Ellis and Sinclair, 1996; Papagno et al., 1991).

Research thus far has provided a starting point for investigating what each of the WM components is responsible for and how each one functions during specific tests. The WM model is not complete nor is its structure unanimously agreed upon. Baddeley (1992) recognized 25 years earlier that the original Baddeley and Hitch model would be subject to revision. While the components have yet to be thoroughly explained, there is substantial evidence in support of this model. Specifically, the phonological loop has been operationalized in numerous studies with results that confirm its role in WM tests that are related to L2 learning. The phonological loop is directly involved in the processing of novel phonological input and to the extent that the learner is dealing with new material in the L2, the phonological loop will be involved in the learning process.

There are many questions left unanswered about WM and its role in SLA. In general, the nature of the causal relationship between WM and SLA remains largely unknown. Much of the research to date has focused on vocabulary learning and/or predicting overall achievement. It is not known if the phonological loop is only relevant to word-level processing or if it is indirectly related to other acquisition processes (e.g., Harrington and Sawyer, 1992; Ellis, 1996a). More research is needed to examine the relationship between WM performance and skill-specific L2 ability. In relation to this, material presentation needs to be given consideration in order to account for the differences in processing required by auditory and visual input. It is also not clear whether L1 and L2 WM processes are interdependent or separate. It has not been shown whether performance on L2 WM tests will reflect individual differences or will merely be a function of increased proficiency levels and, specifically, an expanded L2 vocabulary base.

The experiment in the current study will focus on the question of proficiency level and WM ability. Is there any effect for the proficiency level of the learner on WM capacity in the L2? Further, will there be any relationship between a subject's performance on WM tests and course grade? The alpha level for all statistical analyses in this study was set at  $p < .05$ .

## METHOD

The following section will describe the subjects, materials and procedure used for this study.

### Subjects

Subjects in this study were students taking English as a Second Language (ESL) courses in a language program in Honolulu, Hawai'i. The students were placed into two groups (beginning or advanced proficiency); the students in each group were from the same class. The students' proficiency levels were based on their placement in the program. A one-way ANOVA demonstrated that there was a significant difference between the students' placement scores and indicates that these students belong to two distinct groups (see Table 2). These ends of the proficiency continuum were chosen to highlight any differences that might be found in performance on the WM test. The subjects were from the following L1 backgrounds: Japanese (8), Korean (7), Chinese (1), Cambodian (1), and German (1). At the time of the study, they had been studying English for different lengths of time and in different contexts. In the beginning group, there were five females and seven males and in the advanced group, four females and two males. The average age of the subjects was 24 years old.

Table 2. Proficiency Levels

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	1	1995.1111	1995.1111	50.8073*
Within Groups	16	628.2917	39.2682	
Total	17	2623.4028		

n=18

\*p&lt;0.05

### Materials

A single test was used in this study: word copying from memory. This test was chosen because it has been shown to focus on the phonological loop component of WM.<sup>1</sup> For the purposes of this study, the accepted name of this component may be somewhat misleading. Clearly, there is more than phonology involved in this test. In particular, subjects will probably be drawing on their knowledge of morphology and phonotactic regularities in each language. Where letter strings are used for these types of tests, this is not always the case depending on how the strings or "pseudowords" have been created. Since the aim of this study is to understand vocabulary processing, real words have been used in developing the word lists.

The word lists were created using the following criteria. From references on words no longer current in American English, a sample list of 152 words was compiled (e.g., Grambs; Sperling). This list was reduced to 40 words on the basis of high phonological similarity to English vocabulary and low semantic value as rated by three L1 English speakers. Items were scored on a scale of one to three (one= low phonological similarity, three= high phonological similarity; one=low association value, three=high association value). Words with the highest possible phonological score and the lowest possible semantic value score were chosen for the study. Any word that was known to a rater was eliminated from the word lists (see Appendix A). Interrater reliability was calculated for both the phonological similarity and the association value ratings (see Table 3). The low reliability estimates may be due to a lack of specificity in rating instructions in addition to an insufficient number of raters. The rated words were randomly divided into four lists by assigning a number to each word.

Table 3. Interrater Reliability for Word Lists

Rating Type	r
Phonological Similarity	0.53
Association Value	0.36

### Procedure

The study was conducted by the researcher and a second test administrator. Students were tested individually. The word lists were displayed by each tester on note cards according to the time constraints used in Papagno et al.(1991). Each card was presented for two seconds. Once the word was obscured, the student had approximately five seconds to record the word before the next word would be shown. Students were instructed not to begin writing the word until the card had been obscured. Each student was given a pad of paper to record the words. At the end of each list of ten words, students were given a five second break before beginning the next list. Students completed a practice list before the test began. Three additional lists were used for the test which resulted in a total of thirty items.

### RESULTS

Scoring for the WM tests was based on copying accuracy for each word. Accuracy was determined on the basis of the total possible number of letters correct minus any omissions, substitutions, or additions (e.g., Service, 1989). The descriptive statistics for word copying error scores are broken down by level and word length (see Table 4). This distribution is somewhat positively skewed; there is only room for 1.43 standard deviations below the mean. Since the scores represent copying errors, it indicates that the subjects made very few errors. Comparing the two-syllable and four-syllable word scores shows that the longer words were more difficult to copy, as would be predicted by studies which have examined the word length effect. Also, there is a slightly lower mean score for the advanced students than for the beginning students ( $M_{adv}=.09$ ;  $M_{beg}=.11$ ) which demonstrates a slight advantage for the advanced level students.

Table 4. Word Copying by Level and Word Length

Beginning (N=12)/Advanced (N=6)/Total (N=18)

	M	Mode	Median	
2-Syllable	.02/.01/.02	.00/.01/.01	.01/.01/.01	
4-Syllable	.17/.14/.16	None/None/.28	.16/.12/.14	
Total	.11/.09/.11	.06/None/.06	.11/.08/.09	
	SD	Min.	Max.	Range
2-Syllable	.02/.02/.02	.00/.00/.00	.09/.04/.09	.09/.04/.09
4-Syllable	.12/.09/.11	.01/.03/.01	.45/.28/.45	.45/.24/.45
Total	.08/.06/.07	.00/.03/.00	.32/.18/.32	.31/.15/.32

The results of a one-way ANOVA show no significant effects for accuracy by level (see Table 5). Within this group of ESL students, there was no measurable effect for proficiency on their ability to complete an L2 word copying test.

Table 5. Copying Error Scores by Level

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	1	.002	.002	.428
Within Groups	16	.087	.005	
Total	17	.090	.005	

n=18

Service (1989) looked at the relationship between performance on a WM word copying test and course grades in English as a foreign language and found significant correlations between both pseudoword repetition and pseudoword copying with course grades. In the current study, student performance on the word copying test was correlated with course grades to check for any relationship between these two measures. Although there are moderately high correlations between copying accuracy (four syllable words and total) and course grade (advanced students), none of the correlations were significant (see Table 6).

Table 6. Correlations Between Copying Error Score and Course Grade

	Beginning Students (n=12)		Advanced Students (n=6)	
Word Type	Course Grade		Course Grade	
Two Syllable	-.0918	n.s.	.0585	n.s.
Four Syllable	.1089	n.s.	-.7767	n.s.
Total	.0903	n.s.	-.7562	n.s.

n=18

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## DISCUSSION

This study is limited by the number of subjects and the use of only a single test to measure WM performance. Both of these factors would need to be considered for any subsequent research. Consequently, the ANOVA results should be interpreted cautiously. The sums of squares are so small that it may be that the word copying test was not sensitive enough to different ability levels among these students. Taking into consideration the small number of subjects and the somewhat positively skewed distribution (i.e., tightly grouped scores), it is also possible that the results are a function of these factors and not a true picture of the differences between group performances. The lack of significant results for the correlations between WM performance and course grade may also be a result of the small sample size used in this study. Further research will be needed to determine whether or not there is a significant relationship between these factors. More importantly, a more in-depth analysis would be necessary in order to examine the potential meaningfulness of any such relationship. If performance on a simple WM test does show a strong correlation with language course grades, we will have to examine what this actually means for theories of cognitive language learning ability.

## CONCLUSIONS

The results of this study suggest that L2 phonological WM skill may not be a function of a student's proficiency level, but instead an ability that students bring with them to the L2 learning task. If this is the case, then the study of WM has an important future in SLA research. The particular test (L2 word copying) used in this study is not intended as an ideal measure of phonological WM capacity. Since WM is a multi-faceted cognitive system, it will undoubtedly need to be measured in several ways in order to arrive at a clear picture of how it operates and in relation to which aspects of SLA.

### Suggestions for future research

It was originally expected that this study would be able to address the question of interdependence between L1 and L2 WM. However, due to the varied language backgrounds of the subjects, it was not possible to explore this question. There are several directions that WM research can turn: interdependence between L1 and L2 memory, memory for specific L2 skills (i.e., reading), strategy use for WM tests, defining the role of the visuo-spatial sketchpad in SLA, etc. With reliable tests, comparative studies can be carried out with different L1-L2 combinations. The input used in WM studies can be selected for specific features (i.e., phonological similarity and association value) to see if different processes are tapped into according to the quality of the input. Of course, studies of WM and L2 skills need to go beyond correlational data and investigate the causal relationships underlying learner performance. Longitudinal studies will also be needed in order to learn about the development and outcomes for students who come to the task of SLA at different starting points in relation to WM ability.

## NOTE

- 1 A second test was planned to be used for this study (paired associate learning). Due to logistical difficulties, the study had to be shortened and this test was not administered.

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#### APPENDIX A: WORD LISTS

##### practice list:

adush  
sural  
jubate  
spuddy  
sapid  
vellication  
peccaminous  
theriacal  
scialytic  
scleragogy

##### recall list 1:

blashy  
roaky  
miction  
vegete  
scrannel  
deblaterate  
poculation  
propadeutic  
sciadopodous  
scortation

##### recall list 2:

lennow  
rooped  
pingle  
wanion  
sorbile  
macarism  
progeria  
rabulistic  
speratory  
tessarion

##### recall list 3:

murfle  
thibble  
scaphoid  
respue  
scopate  
marigenous  
psithurism  
salsuginous  
staurolatry  
unasious



# SEMANTIC STRUCTURE REPRESENTATIONS, CROSS-LINGUISTIC COMPARISON, AND LINGUISTIC COMMUNICATION

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## ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to revisit cross-linguistic comparison and linguistic communication by introducing Semantic Structure representations (SSrr), a unique and powerful device in the Compositional Cognitive Grammar (CCG) proposed by Hsieh (1992, 1994, 1996). It is demonstrated in this paper that SSrr can help us explore and explicate meaning in sentences obscured by Constituent Structure representations (CSrr) and can provide us with an efficient tool for studying cognitively similar but structurally different sentences found across two languages (in this case, Mandarin and English). Furthermore, as a bridge between Image Structure Representations (ISrr) and CSrr, SSrr help us grasp the nature of linguistic communication and gain valuable insights into the question of how languages may converge semantically and yet diverge syntactically.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Why Semantic Structure Representations? Modern formal syntactic theories have favored the idea that syntax can and should be autonomous from semantics; nevertheless, in what seems to be a steady trend, more and more linguists are introducing semantic elements into their formal syntactic analyses. Notions such as thematic roles (agent, patient, theme, etc.) and functional roles (topic, subject, object, etc.), to name just a few, are some notable examples. As we can see, both thematic roles and functional roles are meaning-motivated. Both these notions suggest that there is a need to go beyond constituent structure. The Semantic Structure Representations (SSrr), postulated in the Compositional Cognitive Grammar (CCG) proposed by Hsieh (1992, 1994, 1996), provide us with a powerful tool for doing so. Beyond the standard constituent structure, the SSr is powerful not only because it helps us analyze semantic structure, but also because, by relating meaning and form, it helps us grasp the holistic nature of language and explain how languages may converge semantically and yet diverge syntactically.

Syntactically, "Colorless green ideas sleep furiously" sounds like perfect English because it is well-formed (i.e., grammatical) even though it may be semantically awkward. Syntax, therefore, can be studied "automously". Indeed, it is a great human intellectual achievement that we are able to abstract from all human languages the beautiful and neat constituent structures to examine them. Nevertheless, it is human nature to associate form with meaning. Hsieh points out, that even though there is a distinction between form and meaning, form and meaning no doubt are interconnected and engaged in an interplay (1996). Divorcing syntax from semantics, therefore, may result in analyses not as satisfactory as they can be when syntax and semantics are jointly considered. To see why, consider the following three English sentences:

- (1a) I will fetch a glass of water.
- (2a) I will bring a glass of water.
- (3a) I will take a glass of water.

If one emphasizes their superficial formal similarity and concludes that these three sentences have exactly the same constituent structure, one can not explain the differences among them that any English native speaker can perceive instinctively, neither can one explain how a language use three different verbs in the same constituent structure to express three radically different meanings. Although the above three English sentences have exactly the same constituent structures, semantically or conceptually, (1a) involves the meaning of 'going', 'taking' and 'coming back', (2a) involves 'taking' and 'coming back', and (3a) involves 'taking' only. It is apparent that

the three have different degrees of semantic complexity, matching their different degrees of complexity in image, in spite of their shared constituent structure. It is also apparent that neither the thematic roles nor the functional roles in these sentences are enough for us to explain such differences. Constituent structure, needless to say, is also of little use. It is at this juncture that the Semantic Structure representation (SSr) in CCG can be especially appealing, because it unpacks the superficial simplicity of a Constituent Structure representation (CSr) of a sentence to show its semantic complexity, if it is indeed semantically complex.

In the following section (Section 2), we shall demonstrate the working of SSrr by drawing on cross-linguistic data, and we will also show that cross-linguistic comparison can actually be more effectively made with the application of SSrr in CCG. In Section 3, we shall talk about linguistic communication by drawing on the highest level of analysis in CCG, the Image Structure representations (ISrr), and we will see how SSrr serve as a bridge between ISrr and CSrr. Finally in Section 4, we shall briefly conclude this presentation.

## 2. SEMANTIC STRUCTURE REPRESENTATIONS.

As mentioned in the Introduction, there is a trend towards bringing semantic elements back into syntactic analyses. Such a trend is bound to grow in the years to come. That is why cognitive grammar (Langacker 1987, 1995; Lakoff 1987; Talmy 1985, 1988; Tai 1985, 1989) is beginning to draw more and more attention from linguists. Being a form of cognitive grammar, Hsieh's Compositional Cognitive Grammar is most notable for its recognition and development of a semantic component, that is SSrr. Not only does CCG recognize the central importance of cognition for language and the intimate relations between syntactic and semantic structures (Langacker 1995), but CCG also makes explicit this semantic structure and provides an efficient tool, SSrr, to facilitate the analysis of sentences. As a result, one can go beyond the CSrr, and can, with the help of cross-linguistic comparison, uncover contrasting SSrr among languages. To see how SSrr may be useful in this way, let us go back to the three initial English examples:

- (1a) I will fetch a glass of water.
- (2a) I will bring a glass of water.
- (3a) I will take a glass of water.

Recall that, although these three English sentences share exactly the same constituent structure, cognitively, they represent three images different in their semantic complexity: specifically, (1a) involves the meaning of 'going', 'taking' and 'coming back', (2a) involves 'taking' and 'coming back', and (3a) involves 'taking' only. A different language might explicitly treat them as three different images and give them correspondingly different CSrr. In fact, this is precisely what happens in Mandarin Chinese. Consider the Mandarin Chinese equivalents of (1a) to (3a) below:

- (1b) *Wo3 qu4 na2 yi4 bei1 shui3 lai2.*  
I go take one glass water come  
'I will fetch a glass of water.'
- (2b) *Wo3 na2 yi4 bei1 shui3 lai2.*  
I take one glass water come  
'I will bring a glass of water.'
- (3b) *Wo3 na2 yi4 bei1 shui3.*  
I take one glass water  
'I will take a glass of water.'

To any native Mandarin Chinese speaker, (1b), (2b), and (3b) represent very different images. What SSrr in CCG do, then, is to provide an adequate tool for describing these different images. Playing a vital role in CCG, the SSr of a sentence is the level of representation where the

'deep' semantics or meaning of a sentence meets its 'shallow' syntax or form, and the SSr is also where the interaction of syntax and semantics is treated.

Viewed from the CSr, SSr expands each non-NP element (such as verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, etc.) into a 'semantic' subject-predicate construction. This non-NP element is regarded as an Abstract Verb (AV) and such a construction is called an Action (AC). An AC can be simple or complex. As the composition in CCG is binary, a complex AC is composed of two less complex ACs, which ultimately are each composed of a simple AC. Each simple AC is composed of an Initiator (I) as subject and a Complex Act (A') as predicate, which in turn is composed of an Act (A) as verb and a Receiver (R) as object. The simplest AC is thus like a semantic subject-verb-object construction and is represented as  $AC = \langle I, A' = \langle A, R \rangle \rangle$ ; a tree diagram for the same representation would be:

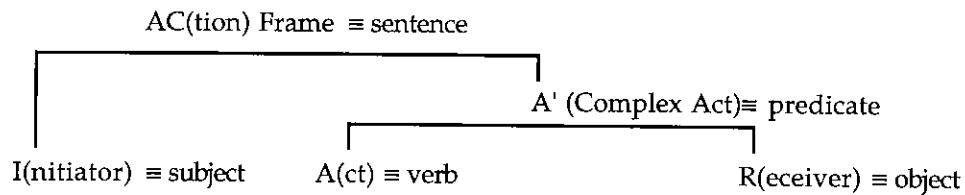


Figure 1.

Whether within a simple AC or within a complex AC, the compositional procedure is strictly binary. The I and R may be filled or empty, and when not empty, they are represented by the variables  $x$  and  $y$ , or the constants  $h$  and  $k$ . For convenience, we use  $x$  and  $h$  exclusively to represent I, and  $y$  and  $k$  exclusively to represent R. Moreover, we use  $i, j, k$ , etc. to index the variables  $x$  and  $y$ . Indexed variable  $x_k$  or  $y_k$  in a SSr corresponds to a co-indexed  $NP_k$  in the CSr, and a process of instantiation will turn each  $x_k$  or  $y_k$  into a distinct and properly placed  $NP_k$  in the CSr. The basic simple AC patterns are called Action Frames (ACFs), which are the building blocks of SSr. When the Abstract Verb (AV) representing the Act (C) in an ACF is specified, this ACF becomes a particularized ACF, i.e., a PACF. A number of PACFs would then build SSr. In this way, each sentence, no matter how complex, is built from a number of PACFs, which are specific tokens of the ACF types.

A comparison of sentences (1a) through (3a) with their equivalents in Mandarin Chinese shows that the Chinese sentence (1b) actually has three ACs, (2b) has two, and (3b) has one, while all their English counterparts have only one AC (if the auxiliary 'will' expressing tense is ignored):

- (1b) Wo3 qu4 na2 yi4 bei1 shui3 lai2. (3 ACs in (1b), as contrasted with 1 AC in (1a))  
 (2b) Wo3 na2 yi4 bei1 shui3 lai2. (2 ACs in (2b), as contrasted with 1 AC in (2a))  
 (3b) Wo3 na2 yi4 bei1 shui3. (1 AC in (3b), just as in (3a))

The underlined non-NPs correspond to the ACs postulated. The SSrr for (1b) will be:  $\langle (i) \langle x_i, \langle \text{qu4 'go', } \emptyset \rangle \rangle, (ii) \langle x_i, \langle \text{na2 'take', } y_j \rangle \rangle, (iii) \langle x_i, \langle \text{lai2 'come back', } \emptyset \rangle \rangle \rangle$ ; and the tree diagram for the same Ssrr will be:

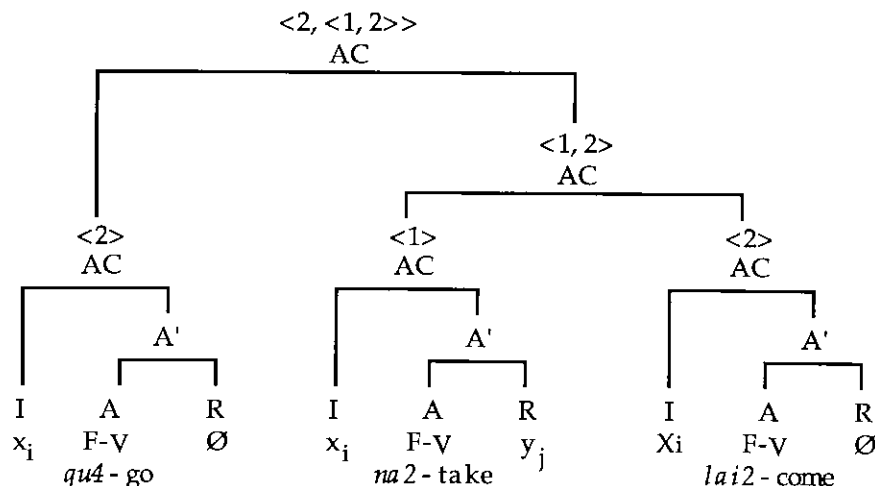


Figure 2.

Hence, three ACs (i, ii, and iii) in total are postulated for (1b). The SSrr for (2b), likewise, will be: <(i)< $x_i$ , <na2 'take',  $y_j$ >>, (ii)< $x_i$ , < lai2 'come back',  $\emptyset$ >>>; hence there are two ACs (i and ii) for (2b). As for (3b), only one AC is involved, which is < $x_i$ , <na2 'take',  $y_j$ >>.

Conversely, what are taken as single images and expressed by the same constituent structure in Mandarin Chinese may be construed as images of varying complexity and realized in different constituent structures in English. And again, using SSrr, we can easily describe such differences. Consider the following three Mandarin Chinese sentences:

- (4a) Zhang1san1 tui1 Li3si4.  
John push Bill  
'John pushed Bill.'
- (5a) Zhang1san1 bei1 Li3si4.  
John back Bill  
'John shouldered Bill./ John put Bill on his back.'<sup>1</sup>
- (6a) Zhang1san1 fu2 Li3si4.  
John support<sup>2</sup> Bill  
'John supported Bill./ John let Bill lean on him.'

Since there is only one non-NP element in all of the three Mandarin Chinese sentences (4a through 6a), there is only one composing AC in each of them. This is because each composing single AC in a SSr must be motivated by an actual CSr non-NP, which expands into it. However, the single-AC SSrr in (4a) - (6a) actually mask different Image Structure Representations (ISrr). If we consider the English counterparts of (4a) - (6a), it becomes immediately obvious that each of them has a different number of composing ACs in its SSr:

- (4b) John pushed Bill. (1 AC, just as 4a)
- (5b) John put Bill on his back. (2 AC, as contrasted with 1 AC in 5a)
- (6b) John let Bill lean on him. (3 ACs, as contrasted with 1 AC in 6a)

Again, it is clear that there is only one non-NP element, and therefore one AV and one composing AC for (4b), whose SSr is: < $x_i$ , <push,  $y_j$ >>. But in (5b), there are two non-NP elements, and therefore two AVs and two composing ACs, yielding as its SSr: <(i)< $x_i$ , <put,  $y_j$ >>, (ii)< $x_j$ , < on,  $y_i$ 's back>>>.<sup>3</sup> In the case of (6b), whose SSr is <(i)< $x_i$ , < let,  $y_j$ >>, (ii)< $x_j$ , < lean,  $\emptyset$ >>,

(iii)  $\langle x_j, \langle \underline{a}, y_i \rangle \rangle$ , there is a total of three composing Acts.

The examples above show the explanatory power in the unique and efficient device of SSrr in CCG, and indicate also how we can benefit from cross-linguistic comparison in constructing an SSr. Nevertheless, it is not hard to see that SSrr in CCG are language-specific, for the obvious reason that what is expressed in one composing AC in language A may get expressed in two or more composing ACs in Language B, as the comparison of (4a) - (6a) with (4b) - (6b) clearly attests to. All this leads us to further inquire how SSrr function in the larger picture of cross-linguistic communication. In order to show how SSrr function in this respect, we need to invoke Image Structure representations, ISrr. ISrr as elements in the Image Structure (IS) are representations at the highest level in CCG. In the following section, we will first explain why we need an IS as an integral part of our grammar, and how ISrr are related to SSrr; and then we will talk about how the joint effect of IS, SS (Semantic Structure), and CS (Constituent Structure) produces a grammar for human language.

### 3. ISRR AS REAL WORLD KNOWLEDGE, SSRR AS LANGUAGE-SPECIFIC REFLECTIONS, AND CSRR AS CONVENTIONALIZED FORMS.

Why do we need to resort to the IS? What does an IS do? To answer, let us first consider the following examples from Tai (1996):

- (7) *Zhang1san1 zai4 tu2shu1guan3 kan4 shu1.*  
John in library see book  
'John is reading in the library.'
- (8) *Zhang1san1 zai4 chuan2shang4 kan4 feng1jing3.*  
John on boat see scenery  
'John is viewing scenery on the boat.'
- (9) *Zhang1san1 zai4 zhuo1zi0shang4 xie3 zi4.*  
John on table write word  
'John is writing on the table.'

Tai pointed out that sentences (7), (8), and (9) share the same structure *zai4 X Verb Y*, but the location of Y varies. In (7), the location of Y is inside X (i.e., the book is inside the library); in (8), the location of Y is outside X (i.e., the scenery is outside the boat); in (9), the location of Y is on the paper (i.e., the location of the words are on a piece of paper), hence also outside X. In sum, with the poor and sketchy syntactic form, the location for the patient of the verb *kan4* 'see' is not semantically transparent to the listener at all. Indeed, not only the location for the patient can be opaque, as Tai noted, but the location for both the theme and the agent can also be opaque, as a few examples will confirm. Consider sentences (10) through (13) for the location of the theme, and (14) and (15) for that of the agent:

- (10) *Dian4nao3 zai4 wo3 nar4.*  
computer at I there  
'The computer is at my place.'
- (11) *Che1zi0 zai4 wo3 nar4.*  
car at I there  
'The car is at my place.'
- (12) *Bing1qi2lin2 zai4 wo3 nar4.*  
ice cream at I there  
'The ice cream is at my place.'
- (13) *Can1ting1 zai4 tu2shu1guan3 nar4.*  
restaurant at library there/loc.  
'The cafeteria is beside the library.'
- (14) *Zhang1san1 zai4 chu3fan2li3 chao3cai4.*

John in kitchen stir-fry  
 'John is cooking in the kitchen.'

- (15) *Zhang1san1 zai4 guo1zi0li3 chao3cai4.*  
 John in pot stir-fry  
 'John is cooking in the frying pan.'

Sentences (10) - (13) clearly share the same form *X zai4 Y nar4*. However, the location for the theme X actually varies. Although these three sentences all contain the phrase *zai4 wo3 nar4* 'at my place', the precise physical locations of the theme X can only be determined pragmatically. Thus, in (10), the computer is probably on the desk or in the storage room; in (11), the car should be either inside the garage or in the parking lot; in (10c), the ice cream has to be in the freezer. The vague location *zai4 wo3 nar4* 'at my place' is understood by the listener as three exact places in the real world. By the same token, the location for the agent *Zhang1san1* in (14) and (15) is opaque in the shared, identical CSr. However, the listener knows that in (14), *Zhang1san1* is in the kitchen, but in (15), *Zhang1san1* is by the stove and not in the frying pan.

On the other hand, though sharing the same form *X zai4 Y nar4*; with (10) - (12), *can1ting1* 'restaurant' in (13) is probably located somewhere close to the library, with the form *zai4 Y nar4* marking some general vicinity, rather than a specific location within a general domain. The contrast between (10) - (12) on the one hand and (13) on the other seem to be this: (10) - (12) indicate a sense of control or possessing by the speaker, while (13) signals a general vicinity.

So how does a listener manage to overcome semantic opacity and achieve efficient communication? More specifically, how does a listener know where to get the ice cream if one says to him or her: *bing1qi2lin2 zai4 wo3 nar4, ni3 qu4 na2 lai2* ('The ice cream is at my place. You go and get it.'). Unless the listener is a Martian, he probably will not try to search for the ice cream on the desk, in the storage room or in the parking lot. And suppose someone tries to give you direction by using (13): *can1ting1 zai4 tu2shu1guan3 nar4* ('The cafeteria is beside the library. '); you probably will simply go towards the library, looking for a cafeteria nearby it instead of going inside the library and trying to find a cafeteria inside it. The few examples given above demonstrate the existence of real world knowledge and its importance for effective communication.

Facing sketchy syntactic forms and semantic opacity, the listener very often has to resort to real world knowledge, which is primarily encoded in the Image Structure (IS) in CCG. The representations in the IS are the Image Structure representations (ISrr). Unlike SSrr, which are motivated by surface syntactic patterns, ISrr are based on human cognition. An ISr can be construed as the language-specific cognitive content of a sentence and can also be construed as the universal cognitive content of a set of semantically-corresponding sentences across many languages. As the latter, it is universal or prototypical<sup>4</sup> in the sense of being all-comprehensive. With access to universal ISrr, we can see that what we actually take as the specific sentence forms in a language are the Constituent Structure representations (CSrr), the very economic and conventionalized forms reduced from the language-specific SSrr, whose origins are language-specific ISrr.<sup>5</sup> SSrr, therefore, can be regarded as language-specific links and reflections which form a bridge between a language's ISrr and its CSrr. Since a language-specific ISr is an exemplar of a universal ISr as a prototype, the SSrr in each language select the ACs that the language prefers from all the ACs in a universal or prototypical ISr, and then organize and shape these ACs in its CSrr, according to language-specific syntactic rules.

A question was raised at the end of the last section (Section 2): how is cross-linguistic communication possible if SSrr are language-specific? The answer is now clear with the relation among ISrr, SSrr, and CSrr established. As it has been shown, communication even within the same language, such as in examples (10) to (15), depends crucially on real world knowledge, coded primarily as ISrr. Cross-linguistic communication, likewise, depends vitally on universal ISrr

instead of just language-specific SSrr. That is, sentence (1a) I will fetch a glass of water actually shares the same universal ISr as its Mandarin counterpart (1b) *wo3 qu4 na2 yi4 bei1 shui3 lai2*. The understanding between speakers of the two languages through translation is made possible only through this shared universal ISr. However, each language may have its preference in choosing what to reveal about the shared universal ISr for 'fetch', and code the choice as its language-specific ISr. The complete cognitive process yielding the universal ISr shared by (1a) and (1b) may involve actions such as standing up, leaving, getting the glass of water, holding the glass of water, turning around, coming back, arriving, giving the glass of water to the other party, etc. And, apparently, the SSr of English in (1a) chooses to reveal this ISr in only one AC, whereas the SSr of Mandarin in (1b) chooses to represent the same image by using three ACs. Therefore, for each universal ISr, a language has its own SSr, or even SSrr, as a device for making parts of the ISr transparent. According to CCG, it is possible that we may find another language which may choose to represent the same universal ISr associated with (1a) and (1b) in yet another number of ACs, and we will need more cross-linguistic data to confirm this postulated universal ISr as a "prototype".<sup>6</sup> However, the point here is that with the recognition of the universal or prototypical ISrr, the opaque and conventionalized CSrr, and especially the linking or bridging SSrr as grammatical tools, we are able to see how language may converge semantically and yet diverge syntactically.

#### 4. CONCLUSION.

In this paper, we have shown that with the application of SSrr in CCG and with the help of cross-linguistic comparison, we can gain much insight into grammar by going beyond the level of Constituent Structure. Moreover, by using the Semantic Structure and its SSrr as an efficient tool to bridge the gap between the universal ISrr and the opaque CSrr, we are able to gain a new perspective in viewing how interlanguage communication as well as communication within the same language are made possible. If the main justification for a theory is its explanatory adequacy, CCG is definitely justifiable as a theory on account of the insight it offers on linguistic communication. Although at this stage CCG is still under construction, we hope that, with SSrr as a unique and powerful device, CCG will help us gain insight into how language works as a system in which form and meaning interact. As a grammatical theory aiming to integrate meaning and form, CCG is definitely worthy of further pursuit.

#### NOTES

- \* An earlier version of the paper has been presented, under the title of "Beyond Constituent Structure: Semantic Structure Representations", at the 1997 North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics. The author would like to take this opportunity to thank the editors of this and the three reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions on the revision of this paper. Although not all the comments are addressed in the revision of this short paper, they have all provided the author with ideas for the next paper. Special thanks also go to Professor Hsin-I Hsieh, who has opened my eyes and led me to this new and interesting field of research.
- 1 A possible idiomatic translation for this sentence in English is: 'John shouldered Bill.'; however, this translation is not as faithful as the more literal version used because the two translations may actually involve different images as 'shoulder' is actually very different from 'back'.
- 2 Here 'support' is an idiomatic and over-simplified translation for *fu2*. As a matter of fact, *fu2* in Mandarin Chinese not only means to 'support,' but also implies supporting by using both hands and/or letting somebody lean on oneself. The English translation for the whole sentence, 'John let Bill lean on him.', is a compromise between faithful and idiomatic translations. Nevertheless, this compromise in translation still serves our purpose here, that is, to show how SSrr work by revealing the different numbers of ACs involved across languages.

- 3 In fact, the AC <y<sub>i</sub>'s back> can be further analyzed to include another embedded AC in it: the Abstract Verb being the possessive marker "-'s". However, we will stop here since the analysis up to this point has served our purpose already.
- 4 Different from Rosch's "prototype" as interpreted by Lakoff (1987), a "prototype" in CCG refers to the "artificially constructed union" formed by comparing putative translation-equivalent sentences in languages all over the world (for a more detailed discussion see Hsieh 1996)
- 5 At this stage of development, CCG actually recognizes two levels of Image Structure Representations, one being language-universal and the other being language-specific. However, at this moment, it is not the author's intention to give a lengthy discussion on the differences between these two levels, and the Image Structure Representations focused on in this paper are the universal ISrr. A detailed discussion on ISrr will be left for future work.
- 6 Please see note 4 above.

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## IV. TWICE TOLD TALES



# THE CREATION OF HITOMARO, A POETIC SAGE

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## ABSTRACT

Hitomaro is one of Japan's greatest poets, and one of ancient Japan's most studied. While the majority of scholars acknowledge that not everything purported to be the work of Hitomaro is authentic, few have yet to accept the notion that what later eras venerated was not the work of Hitomaro, but a large amount of anonymous works later attributed to the poetic sage. A careful examination of a selected number of anthologies illustrates that what appears to have been genuine Hitomaro poetry was ignored because of the difficult orthography (*man'yôgana*), and what was included in the anthologies (and attributed to Hitomaro) originated at a later date, when the orthography was more transparent. Therefore, what later generations claimed was Hitomaro's poetic corpus is mostly a collection of poetry from other poets.

Hitomaro, first publicly anthologized in *Man'yôshû* (ca. 759), is one of Japan's greatest poets, and one of ancient Japan's most studied. While most scholars acknowledge that not everything purported to be the work of Hitomaro is authentic, few have yet to accept the notion that what subsequent eras venerated was not the work of Hitomaro, but a large amount of anonymous works later attributed to the poetic sage. What has survived that can be proven textually to be his work reflects a clear bias by later compilers. In other words, only a certain kind of Hitomaro poetry was transmitted in other texts. This points up the concept that what later eras viewed as Hitomaro was in reality a fabrication. In this paper I challenge the common perception that the Hitomaro anthologized in *Man'yôshû* is the same poet whose poetry supposedly appears in later poetic collections.

Before this idea is further developed, it must be mentioned, even if cursorily, that one transformation of Hitomaro's poetry was due to a phenomenon beyond the control of any poet living one hundred years or more after Hitomaro: the orthography. Much of the poetry in *Man'yôshû* was written in a cryptic script that blended pure phonograms, so-called *man'yôgana*, and anomalous Chinese (*hentai kanbun*) together, making later era decoding very difficult, if not nearly impossible.

A good example of this is an anonymous poem from the *Man'yôshû*:

MYS 2194

kari ga ne no	雁 鳴 乃	As I hear the call
kinaki sinape ni	來 鳴 之 共	of the wild duck,
kara koromo	韓 衣	surely Mount Tatsuta,
tatuta no yama pa	裁 田 之 山 者	of foreign robes,
momiti sometari	黃 始 有	has turned crimson.

Compare this with the same poem in *Gosenshû*:

GSS 359

kari ga ne no	As the wild duck
nakituru nafe ni	has cried out,
kara koromo	surely Mount Tatsuta,
tatuta no yama fa	of foreign robes,
momidi sinikeri	will have turned crimson.

The problematic fifth stanza ( aaaaaa ) in the MYS version is quite cryptic, and we perhaps cannot fault the *Gosenshû* compilers for transcribing the poem the way they did. Interestingly, this same poem is found in *Kokin waka rokujô* (KWR 4089), attributed to Hitomaro. Notice how this version of the poem varies from the previous two:

KWR 4089

kari ga ne no  
 nakunaru nafe ni  
 kara koromo  
 tatuta no yama mo  
 momidi sinikeri

It appears that  
 the wild duck has cried out.  
 Surely even Mount Tatsuta,  
 of foreign robes,  
 will have turned crimson.

It was not only the complex orthography that made the faithful transcription of *Man'yôshû* poetry difficult, but there appears to have been a poetic ideology among later era compilers, where old poetry was subjected to cosmetic surgery so it conformed to the newer poetic standard. This idea does not, however, sufficiently explain what happened to Hitomaro's poetry through time.

One way later era compilers remolded Hitomaro was by concentrating the compilation of his poetry on certain types of poetic themes. Such is the case of Hitomaro represented in the third imperial anthology, *Shûishû* (ca. 1011). There are 103 poems attributed to Hitomaro in *Shûishû*, but one, SS 854, is included twice, as SS 1256. I scanned these poems and found that 78 (or 75%) are love poems, or have strong love overtones. For whatever reason, the compilers of *Shûishû* elected to place emphasis on Hitomaro's love poetry. This appears to have been done because great poets were believed to have also been great lovers.

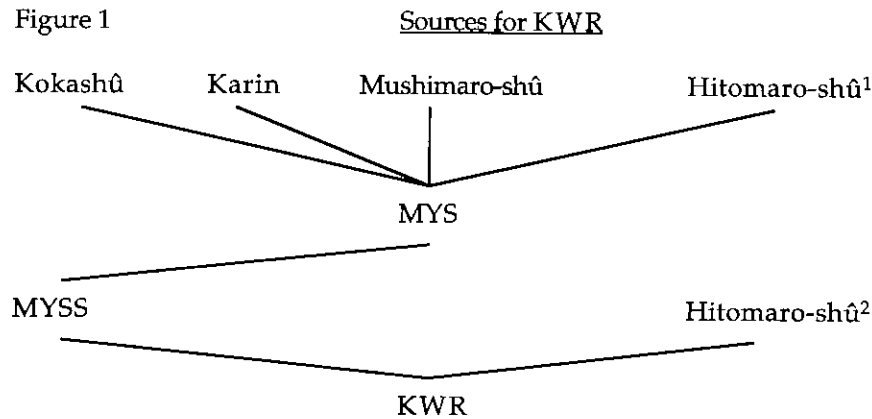
I then checked each of these 103 poems against the corpus in *Man'yôshû*, and found that 67 (65%) are either anonymous, or are attributed to poets other than Hitomaro. One, SS 756, is actually written by Hitomaro's wife to the poet. In other words, by the late tenth or early eleventh century, Hitomaro's poetic corpus included much that was certainly not written by him.

Nevertheless, before we condemn the compilers of *Shûishû* for constructing a fabrication of Hitomaro, it must be noted that there was one other poetic collection, namely *Kokin waka rokujô* (hereafter *Rokujô*), which predates *Shûishû*, and which has done much the same, meaning that this problem of fabricating Hitomaro's poetic corpus happened before the eleventh century. In passing, it must be mentioned that while *Shûishû* is an anthology compiled by order of the throne, *Rokujô* is a collection of poetry arranged by categories, modelled after Po Chü-i's "Sir Po's Collection of Categories in Six Quires" (*Bôshû liútiè shìlèijí*; cf. Hirai 1965:4-10). This means that these two texts are strikingly different in origin and impetus, and an examination of the text of *Rokujô* is indeed revealing.

It is a fairly well-known fact in *waka* (traditional Japanese poetry) studies that *Rokujô*, a collection of about 4500 poems,<sup>1</sup> relied on *Man'yôshû* for more than one-fourth of those poems. I have also demonstrated elsewhere that many of these *Man'yô* poems are variant with the poems preserved in *Man'yôshû* (Bentley 1997). There are many instances where aesthetic motives caused changes in the poetry, some altering archaic grammar to fit the more modern standard.<sup>2</sup> And while these kinds of changes can be analyzed, there are many other variations, some stretching over two or more stanzas, where I believe the only reason for these differences is textual, that is, related to the way in which a text is transmitted. That is why I have postulated that there were two intermediate texts from which *Rokujô* drew its material.

I propose that the first intermediary text between *Man'yôshû* and *Rokujô* was *Man'yôshû-shô*, an apparent extraction of famous poems from the *Man'yôshû*. The poetic bibliography, *Waka genzai shomokuroku* (ca. 1168), contains the following entry: "*Man'yôshû-shô*, five volumes. One theory says Ki no Tsurayuki was the compiler, while another theory says that it was compiled by the five poets of the "Pear-jar Circle" (Hanawa 1931, 14:235).

If as I postulate *Man'yôshû-shô* contained 1125 poems, it would represent about 25% of *Man'yôshû*, and that would amount to roughly the same number of MYS poems found in *Rokujô*.<sup>3</sup> I am arguing that these two sets of poems are more or less the same. Alongside this intermediary text, I postulate the existence of another text, labeled *Hitomaro-shû*. This was a work compiled posthumously, and increased in size as Hitomaro's legendary status expanded. Figure 1 shows how my theory looks schematically. (*Hitomaro shû*<sup>1</sup> is the original, and *Hitomaro shû*<sup>2</sup> is the later, expanded text)



The poems below are quoted to support my theory; these two versions of the same poem preserve textual data showing that an intermediary text must have existed, and that the compiler was not relying on the text of *Man'yôshû* as we now have it. Underlined sections represent variant text in *Man'yôshû*. In other words, these are places where the compiler of *Man'yôshû* had different versions of a poem before him, and he recorded what he believed was the orthodox version in standard size characters, and recorded the variant version in characters half the size of the standard.

## MYS 1910

omopu ni si  
amari ni sikaba  
sube wo nami  
ware pa ipiteki  
imu beki mono wo  
sube wo nami  
idete so yukisi  
ipe no atari mini

Filled with thoughts  
and being at a loss,  
unable to do anything,  
I spoke it,  
that taboo name.  
unable to do anything.  
I went outside  
and looked around your house.

## KWR 1335

omopu ni si  
amari ni sikaba  
sube wo nami  
idete so yukisi  
ipe no atari mini

Filled with thoughts  
and being at a loss,  
unable to do anything,  
I went outside  
and looked around your house.

There are other examples that could be quoted (MYS 252—KWR 2423, MYS 1152—KWR 1831, MYS 1910—KWR 2023, MYS 2169—KWR 510), but the point is that if *Rokujô* has quoted from the variant tradition, it is very likely that the compiler had that version of the poem before him, not the so-called orthodox version recorded in *Man'yôshû*.

Since it has been shown that there were intervening texts between *Man'yôshû* and *Kokin waka rokujô*, this implies that more than one person was involved in the process of preserving the poetry of poets who were no longer living. While this act likely preserved poetry from these poets,

it also allowed enthusiastic compilers to expand and enlarge the poetic corpus of a certain poet. This is what I theorize happened with Hitomaro. This process is rather simple to illustrate, but we must start with a concrete database from which to work.

I have relied on the database of Hitomaro poems contained in Nakanishi Susumu (1989). Nakanishi and his colleagues examined the text of *Man'yôshû* in search of Hitomaro poems, and selected poems only if they had Hitomaro's name attached. This means that poems noted as being included in *Hitomaro-shû* (Hitomaro's poetic collection) were not counted. The reason for this is simple: there is no guarantee that these poems were actually composed by Hitomaro, as the collection was compiled posthumously.<sup>4</sup>

Figure 2 is a list of Nakanishi's database, showing what poems the *Man'yô* scholar considers to be authentic Hitomaro poems, an idea, I must admit, that is completely textually based. Nevertheless, we have no other evidence to claim that these poems are *not* Hitomaro's. The database contains 94 poems, of which twenty are *chôka*.<sup>5</sup>

Figure 2: Nakanishi's Database of Hitomaro Poetry  
(Poems marked with an asterisk are *chôka*. Source document is *Man'yôshû*.)

<b>BK I</b>					
29*	30	31	36*	37	38*
39	40	41	42	45*	46
47	48	49			
<b>BK II</b>					
131*	132	133	134	135*	136
137	138*	139	167*	168	169
170	194*	195	196*	197	198
199*	200	201	202	207*	208
209	210*	211	212	213*	214
215	216	217*	218	219	220*
221	222	223			
<b>BK III</b>					
235	239*	240	241	249	250
251	252	253	254	255	256
261*	262	264	266	303	304
426	428	429	430	433*	
<b>BK IV</b>					
496	497	498	499	501	502
503					
<b>BK IX</b>					
1710	1711	1761*	1762		
<b>BK XV</b>					
3606	3607	3608	3609	3610	3611

Hitomaro supposedly has eight poems recorded in *Kokinshû*, but each one is anonymous, prefaced with the words, "Some say this was composed by Hitomaro." It is important to note that none of these eight poems appears in the database.

The first imperial anthology to openly include Hitomaro poetry is *Shûishû*, as I have already noted. Hitomaro is the second most cited poet, next to Ki no Tsurayuki. Recall that I have noted that of the 103 poems, 67 are actually anonymous or the work of someone else. The question is then: how many of these 103 poems were actually composed by Hitomaro (meaning they are also found in Nakanishi's database, because in the end, we will never know *exactly* what Hitomaro wrote)? The answer is a mere thirteen poems, or only 13% of the poems attributed to the great poet are actually in the database. Most of the poems in *Shûishû* that are attributed to Hitomaro are likely not his.

Next, I examined the poems attributed to Hitomaro contained in *Rokujô*. There are 99 poems attributed to Hitomaro, and fifteen, or 16%, are also found in the database. That means that over 80 of the remaining poems attributed to Hitomaro in *Rokujô* are presumably not the work of the great poet.

Lastly, I conducted an analysis on the extant text of *Hitomaro-shû*. As the first step in the analysis, I eliminated the 66 provincial name poems attributed to Hitomaro from the analysis. These 66 poems are found at the end of the collection of the beta text of the two oldest manuscripts, but the alpha text has no such addition. It should be noted that in textual studies, this is generally taken as evidence that the extra material is a later addition.

A concise explanation of *Hitomaro-shû* is enlightening. The text of this short anthology is divided into two sections, part one and part two. Part one contains 64 poems, of which 24 (38%) are also found in the group of poems Nakanishi considers authentic Hitomaro poems. Of the 171 poems found in part two of the anthology, only three are found in the database, but one appears to be nothing more than a slightly altered version of a poem included in part one. Notice also that part two has the *fonobono* poem from *Kokinshû* (KKS 409), and the *wagimoko ga / nekutare kami wo / sarusawa no* poem attributed to Hitomaro in *Yamato monogatari* (ca. 951). Thus, part one is likely the remnant of an original collection of authentic poems by Hitomaro and what was anciently (read "Heian era") believed to be authentic poems from the great poet. Part two consists mainly of poems that were added later. In short, the extant text of *Hitomaro-shû* contains 26 poems (11%) that can with confidence be assumed to be by Hitomaro, meaning that the remaining 218 poems are likely the work of other poets.<sup>6</sup> If we line up these three texts chronologically, starting with *Rokujô*, then *Shûishû* and then *Hitomaro-shû*, the ratio of authentic poems to those of other poets shows an interesting pattern: the ratio of authentic poems decreases. *Rokujô* contained 16%, *Shûishû* 13% and *Hitomaro shû* slightly less than 11%.

In conclusion, there were at least two major factors that contributed to the making of Hitomaro as the poetic sage in the hoary past of Japan's literary history. The most significant and inescapable factor was textual: orthographic opaqueness. Just as human language changes regularly through time, texts also change regularly as they are transmitted. Add a cryptic and complex script, and one has the makings for sundry textual variations.

The compilation of a collection of Hitomaro's work not many years after his death contributed to the making of the myth. Suppose that someone of the poetic stature of Hitomaro (whose poetry makes up 23% of the first two books of *Man'yôshû*) had only 75 poems in an extant corpus. Such a number would pale in comparison to what an average poet could compose in the course of perhaps twenty years. Such a state of *too few poems* would encourage either the creation of more poetry, or the collection of anonymous poems in a private anthology, indirectly increasing the corpus. To justify the existence of a poetic sage, a larger poetic corpus would have to have existed. Such a step to compile a large anthology of poetry effectively fabricates the story about Hitomaro, because in the ancient Japanese tradition, poetry was as much history as history was poetry (cf. Yoshimoto 1977:11-15).

Two unrelated facts, however, guaranteed that Hitomaro would become the fertile soil for legends and myth. First, he came from a family of originally royal heritage: the Kakinomoto clan. This clan claimed an obscure sovereign, Emperor Kôshô, as their ancestor, while in reality they were related to the Wani clan, and may have had ties to Paekche (Bentley 1993:108).

Second, Hitomaro was gifted in the composition of poetry, and enough of his work (with his name attached) has survived in *Man'yôshû* to allow later readers a look into the world of a truly gifted artist. Also, the recorded connections of Hitomaro with famous emperors, empresses, princes and princesses meant that this supernal poet occupied the envious position of being able to speak for these royal persons vicariously. As a low-ranking courtier, Hitomaro could never enter their royal quarters in the palace, but for a brief poetic moment, he could become their proxy, become their poetic breath.

Hitomaro truly was a great poet, and I have not meant to detract from that fact. Nevertheless, as has been said by Japanese and Western scholars alike, Hitomaro was a poet without a biography. He was a blank check already signed, waiting for someone else in time to fill in the amount. As time progressed, more and more zeroes were added to the amount of what Hitomaro had actually composed during his lifetime. What has been said about Hitomaro appears applicable to many of Japan's ancient poets.

#### NOTES

- 1 The number varies according to which text one examines. The text of *Rokujô* in *Shinpen kokka taikan* contains 4494 poems, with five other variant poems appended at the end.
- 2 A simple example is the emphatic particle *kamo* ("alas"), used frequently at the end of many *Man'yôshû* poems. Over half of these occurring in the *Man'yô* poetry found in KWR have been altered to *kana*, the Heian equivalent of *kamo*. In other instances, *imo* ("beloved") has been changed by the *Rokujô* compiler to *kimi* ("lord").
- 3 I arrived at this figure in a simple manner. *Man'yôshû-shô* is said to have consisted of five volumes, which I assume were of roughly equal length. Five volumes is one-quarter the size of *Man'yôshû*, which consists of 20 volumes. I then took one-fourth of the number of poems in *Man'yôshû* ( $4500 \times .25 = 1125$ ).
- 4 One may wonder if the attestations in *Man'yôshû* are that secure. To assuage this fear, I checked the attestation of each poem of Hitomaro's found in Book One (numbering 15 poems). While I found 18 variations in orthography between the various texts of *Man'yôshû*, there was not a single textual variation with the attestation.
- 5 Tanka consisted of five lines of alternating five and seven syllables, totalling 32 syllables. Chôka was a longer form of this with no set syllable limit.
- 6 I hedge with *likely* because there is always the possibility that some of the other poems were the work of Hitomaro. For the moment, however, I will maintain the rigorous standard used by Nakanishi.

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# DONJUANISMO Y DOÑAINESISMO EN LA TRADICIÓN ESPAÑOLA: LOS ESTEREOTIPOS DEL TENORIO Y DEL MARIANISMO CON ENFOQUE EN LA SALVACIÓN DEL ALMA DEL DON JUAN TENORIO EN AZORÍN

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## ABSTRACT

This paper is a critical discussion on how the cultural legend of the Spanish Don Juan is reflected in the literary tradition of the *donjuanismo* (the concept of womanizing or philandering as a stereotypically integral cultural male behavior in Spanish and Latin American societies). It is my intention to analyze the concept within the framework of the following Spanish works: *Don Juan Tenorio* (1844) by José Zorrilla and *Don Juan* (1922) by Azorín. Why the latter work can be considered a direct continuation of the first via its mythological "de-characterization" of the Don Juan will be the focus of my presentation.

The analysis of the myth's destruction focuses on the salvation of Don Juan's soul in Zorrilla's theater play, and will explain why the divine, female intermediary, Doña Inés, symbolizing the Virgin Mary and her miraculous powers, represents the key figure in the salvation's attainment. Being an important figure in Catholicism, the Virgin Mary (Doña Inés) reflects the importance women have in selected spheres in the Spanish and Latin American societies.

In conclusion, I will suggest that the stagnant *donjuanismo* is unable to exist without an equal but developing *doñainesismo*, an "ism" that has been deprived of its own rightful name. Finally, the presentation will propose implications of the "isms" in today's Latin societies, where, from an American point of view, the stereotype of the "Latin lover" still survives.

"...que si es verdad  
que un punto de contrición  
da a un alma la salvación  
de toda una eternidad,  
yo, Santo Dios, creo en Ti..."

Don Juan Tenorio (Zorrilla 224)

La leyenda de Don Juan no es una reliquia del tiempo pasado, sino una leyenda que se recrea a cada momento del presente. Es un mito que sigue vivo, que nunca ha conocido su pasado porque vacila entre éste y el presente. De esta manera, la leyenda de Don Juan se ha convertido en *donjuanismo*, una leyenda contemporánea, un movimiento lleno de tradiciones culturales y connotaciones que mantienen vivo al tenorio.

¿Quién es este tenorio, este burlador que tradicionalmente enamora a las mujeres fácilmente mientras él mismo, galanteador y seductor, cortejando, conquistando y requebrando a las mujeres, no es capaz de amar? Según las palabras de Gregorio Marañón es "el varón constantemente amado y perdurablemente incapacitado para amar" (10). De esta manera, el Don Juan ha sido caracterizado por costumbre, aunque su personalidad tradicional ha experimentado cierta variabilidad.

Hay gran conocimiento del Don Juan no solamente dentro de los círculos literarios, sino también dentro de las esferas musicales y teatrales. Además, se debe señalar que el Don Juan tradicionalmente considerado español ha cruzado las fronteras nacionales; es decir, el *donjuanismo* no solamente ha penetrado la totalidad del círculo literario-artístico europeo, sino también el latinoamericano.

El Don Juan español nació literariamente durante el reinado de Felipe IV, en un tiempo de fecundidad literaria renacentista que produjo autores como Lope de Vega, Calderón, Tirso de Molina, Alarcón, Quevedo, Góngora, Gracián y Velázquez (Marañón 98). Según Marañón, en aquel tiempo la corte del rey Felipe IV vivía un período de corrupción moral y folklórica sin precedente. Argumenta el crítico que bajo aquellas condiciones gubernativas el nacimiento del personaje

donjuanesco fue simplemente natural: "En este medio, a la vez intelectual y corrompido, brotó Don Juan con la naturalidad de una flor y alcanzó prodigioso relieve" (Marañón 99).

Los primeros rasgos donjuanescos, según Marañón, ya se ven en una obra de Juan de la Cueva, *El Infamador*, y en otra de Lope de Vega llamada *La fianza satisfecha*. Pero señala Marañón que los dos autores solamente concibieron el personaje que se transformaría más tarde en un arquetipo literario sin darse cuenta o comprender el significado literario que Don Juan llegaría a tener en la obra de Tirso de Molina, *El burlador de Sevilla*. Opina el crítico que es en esta obra donde Don Juan sale del vientre maternal de la pluma (99-101), así dando luz a una leyenda que ni en el período romántico español ni en nuestro siglo ha perdido su carácter intrigante y fascinante.

El carácter de Don Juan se vuelve aún más misterioso al examinar la novela de uno de los autores de la generación del 98, José Martínez Ruiz, conocido bajo el nombre de Azorín. Titulada *Don Juan*, la novela promete otra dramatización de un tenorio tratando de conquistar a una mujer. Sin embargo, desde el prólogo de la novela, el lector es confrontado con la transformación total del arquetipo que será desarrollado a lo largo de la obra. El arquetipo desde el comienzo es un anti-tenorio, es decir, se caracteriza por su anti-donjuanismo, así descaracterizándose a sí mismo. Inmediatamente, el lector no puede menos que reflexionar y considerar detenidamente la obra de Zorrilla, *Don Juan Tenorio*, y esta reflexión crítica será nuestro enfoque estableciendo la diferencia entre el Don Juan de Zorrilla y el de Azorín. En este trabajo examinaremos el nexo religioso de las dos obras, enfocándonos en la salvación del Tenorio y cómo se manifiesta en el anti-arquetipo donjuanesco azoriniano. Consideraremos la obra de Azorín como continuación de la de Zorrilla y además seguiremos los pasos de la Doña Inés del dramaturgo, y cómo ella se desarrolla en la novela azoriniana del mismo título. Finalmente, examinaremos la leyenda donjuanesca y la de Doña Inés y cómo están relacionadas con las tradiciones españolas de hoy día. Veremos que el *donjuanismo* no podía haber sobrevivido sin un paralelo *doñainesismo*, un "ismo" que representa simbólicamente el rol tradicional femenino que no somos capaz de separar del "ismo" masculino.

Como ya hemos mencionado, el Don Juan zorrillesco sigue la tradición donjuanesca tal como se da a conocer en *El Burlador de Sevilla*, obra teatral del siglo de oro por Tirso de Molina, pero con una diferencia marcada: en *El Burlador* Don Juan se va al infierno, mientras en la pieza de Zorrilla es salvado por Doña Inés. Sin embargo, el Don Juan zorrillesco sigue siendo un burlador mundano, un seductor que trata de aprovecharse de la inocencia, ingenuidad y sencillez de Doña Inés, hija virgen de Don Gonzalo. En su obra, Zorrilla nos presenta, sin duda, el Don Juan arquetípico por excelencia, es decir un hombre arrogante, machista, orgulloso y egoísta.

Es además insolente y libertino, vano y narcicista. Pero también es hombre culto que vive de prisa y es valiente. Es un manipulador a quien le gusta jugar, no solamente con el corazón de las mujeres, sino también con adversarios como Don Luis. Esto lo podemos ver en la escena XII del primer acto, en donde Don Juan y Don Luis están sentados en la mesa, y lo que se ve es un juego de confrontaciones e imitaciones, de donde sale Don Juan como figura dominante. En la escena VII del segundo acto este mismo juego se pone de manifiesto en las palabras que cruzan Don Juan y Don Luis, reflejado en los ovillejos empleados por Zorrilla:

Luis: Mas se acercan. ¿Quién va allá?  
 Juan: Quien va.  
 Luis: De quién va así, ¿qué se infiere?  
 Juan: Que quiere.  
 Luis: ¿Ver si la lengua le arranco?  
 Juan: El paso franco.

(Zorrilla 125)

Don Juan tampoco tiene escrúpulos cuando trata de conseguir el amor de Doña Inés. No es hombre cualquiera. Tiene destreza, sabe destacarse y se distingue indudablemente por encima de los demás.

No solamente sabe el Tenorio destacarse; se destaca sobre todo por su profanidad. En el acto tercero llamado "Profanación", por ejemplo, viola y profana a Doña Inés, mujer inocente que vive en un convento. Es tan profano que los demás le llaman el diablo o el satanás a lo largo de la pieza teatral. No muestra respeto a lo sagrado cuando roba la desmayada Doña Inés del convento, y les desacredita y deshonra a ella y a su padre, Don Gonzalo. Así despliega de nuevo su carácter irreverente, secular, inmodesto, mundano y anti-religioso.

Sin embargo, el carácter de Don Juan cambia en la segunda parte de la obra que empieza con una escena tradicionalmente romántica en el cementerio. Desaparece aquí lentamente el Don Juan conquistador, es decir, el Don Juan mitológico y tradicional, y se desarrolla Don Juan a un nivel más humano, más ordinario, hasta su transformación religiosa: la salvación llevada a cabo por la figura mariana de Doña Inés. Es esta transformación del protagonista la que establece el nexo entre la obra zorrillesca y la azoriniana, pero el nexo no se establece en su totalidad en el Tenorio hasta que Don Juan deja atrás para siempre sus creencias seculares inmorales, y confiesa su fe en Dios en el último momento de contrición diciéndole a la estatua:

Aparta, piedra fingida!  
 Suelta, suéltame esa mano,  
 que aún queda el último grano  
 en el reloj de mi vida.  
 Suéltala, que si es verdad  
 que un punto de contrición  
 da a un alma la salvación  
 de toda una eternidad,  
 yo, Santo Dios, creo en Ti.

(Zorrilla 224)

Y solamente con esta confesión es Doña Inés capaz de salvar el alma del burlador: "...se abre la tumba de Doña Inés y aparece ésta. Doña Inés toma la mano que Don Juan tiende al cielo" y "de sus bocas salen sus almas ...[y] se pierden en el espacio..." (Zorrilla 224, 226).

Es precisamente *esta* alma que se salva la que reaparece en la obra de Azorín y es presentada a través de las siguientes palabras que caracterizan al antiguo Don Juan: "Don Juan del Prado y Ramos era un gran pecador...No le contenían en sus locuras ni admoniciones ni castigos. Todos sus pensamientos eran para los regalos y deleites terrenos..."(Azorín 13). Azorín, sin embargo, anuncia la transformación del alma donjuanesca a través de las siguientes palabras: "...Un día adoleció gravemente...su espíritu salió de la grave enfermedad profundamente transformado..." (13, 14). Es una transformación llevada a cabo por medio de un milagro de estilo semejante a los *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* del autor medieval Gonzalo de Berceo; es decir, milagros realizados por la Virgen María, encarnada en la obra de Zorrilla por Doña Inés.

Esta transformación es iniciada por Doña Inés en el final de Don Juan Tenorio. Ella como instrumento de la salvación e intercesora ante Dios cambia la mala vida del tenorio y transforma su alma corrupta por los vicios terrenales. Doña Inés cambia al conquistador de mujeres, a las cuales un tenorio verdadero nunca puede amar porque se ama solamente a sí mismo. Empieza aquí, con esta

transformación, la lucha interior del Tenorio zorrillesco. Es una lucha consigo mismo, una lucha contra los elementos tradicionales donjuanesco, incluyendo el narcismo, la vanidad, el egoísmo, la arrogancia y la insolencia. Y es esta lucha que se desarrolla más en la novela contemporánea azoriniana.

La fuerza que infunde al tenorio lo lleva a pensar que hay una posibilidad de que exista una vida de ultratumba. Esto inicia en él una transformación creciente salvadora que finalmente lo controla y lo lleva a confiar en Dios. En el tercer acto, su alma experimenta por primera vez un cambio y cierto arrepentimiento después de haber matado a sus amigos Centellas y Avellaneda:

Oh! Arrebatado el corazón me siento  
por vértigo internal..., mi alma perdida  
va cruzando el desierto de la vida  
cual hoja seca que arrebatara el viento.  
Dudo..., temo..., vacilo..., en mi cabeza  
siento arder un volcán..., muevo la planta  
sin voluntad, y humilla mi grandeza un no sé qué de grande que me espanta  
[...]  
Jamás mi orgullo concibió que hubiere  
nada más que el valor...! Que se aniquila  
el alma con el cuerpo cuando muere  
creí..., mas hoy mi corazón vacila.  
Jamás creí en fantasmas...! Desvaríos!

(Zorrilla 219)

En la novela azoriniana experimentamos y compartimos como lectores la lucha al lado de Don Juan. Y como no es un conflicto fácil de resolver, porque envuelve un violento enfrentamiento para conseguir la perfección de la salvación del alma, nosotros, los lectores, sufrimos con el personaje de Don Juan a través de una lectura desafiante.

En el caso de la novela, la transformación milagrosa de Don Juan empieza en el prólogo y está realizada por completo en el epílogo, donde encontramos a Don Juan como sacerdote en un convento. Esto nos hace pensar que la novela azoriniana es una continuación directa de la obra teatral de Zorrilla, ya que empieza en medias res describiendo un hombre anti-donjuanesco: "Don Juan es un hombre como todos los hombres. No es alto ni bajo, ni delgado ni grueso...No dicen nada sus ojos claros y vivos: miran como todos los ojos...Cuando nos separamos de él, no podemos decir de qué manera iba vestido... Habla con sencillez. Ofrece y cumple. Jamás alude a su persona...Pone la amistad—flor suprema de la civilización—por encima de todo" (Azorín 17-18).

De repente nos damos cuenta de que éste no es un Don Juan tradicional, y definitivamente no es el zorrillesco porque, al contrario que en la novela, en la pieza teatral ya desde el principio conocemos a un hombre que se distingue por llevar un antifaz. No es hombre de todos los días. La sencillez es un elemento que ponemos en duda cada vez que Don Juan Tenorio habla, como sentimos que su único propósito es conquistar a las mujeres, cueste lo que cueste. Además, frecuentemente alude a sí mismo, aun hasta el final de la obra, que termina precisamente con su nombre.

El Don Juan azoriniano, en cambio, se caracteriza por negativos y por su pasividad, de modo que el personaje casi no existe desde el principio de la novela. Es observador tranquilo y así, digamos, Azorín descaracteriza el tenorio tradicional y por consiguiente anula el *donjuanismo* en su totalidad.

Especialmente descaracterizado aparece el *donjuanismo* en la presentación que Azorín hace de la relación entre Don Juan y Jeannette, aunque la relación no es íntima o seria, como tampoco lo es

la relación de Don Juan Tenorio con Doña Inés. Lo significativo en esta relación (o en la falta de ella) es el hecho de que Jeannette es la persona activa, mientras Don Juan es partícipe pasivo del juego de ella. Jeannette coquetea con él fingiendo inocencia. Es la relación que hay en la obra de Zorrilla entre Don Juan Tenorio-Doña Inés, pero al revés. Por ejemplo, cuando juegan al *lion malade*, Jeannette le pregunta a él qué animal quisiera ser. Don Juan contesta a esta pregunta "lo que Ud. quiera hacer de mí" (Azorín 132). Como está en control del juego, Jeannette escoge que haga el pavón.

El pavón es un animal que se distingue por su plumaje matizado de oro y azul y una cola que se puede extender en abanico. Es un animal con mucho orgullo, y entonces por su apariencia y comportamiento nos hace pensar en un donjuán, un hombre convencido de sí mismo que trata de impresionar a las mujeres.

Sin embargo, como el Don Juan azoriniano no cae en la categoría arquetípica donjuanesca, Jeannette se burla de este anti-burlador al escoger para él el pavón. Así, es ella la que manipula no sólo el juego sino también al hombre, lo que culmina al final en la provocación sexual femenina cuando Jeannette le da "la rosa más roja" (Azorín 133), una flor lozana llena de vida. De esta manera, Azorín acentúa el contraste entre la flor y el carácter del hombre pasivo que queda nada más que como juguete de la conquista femenina fingida.

El anti-donjuanismo también está reflejado en el ecologismo azoriniano cuando consideramos "la cuestión existencialista" (Montes Huidobro) que ofrece el capítulo titulado "El árbol viejo" de la novela azoriniana. Aquí la naturaleza presentada por los árboles es símbolo de la vida en general, descrita en el "gran libro" que están estudiando los estudiantes. El viejo árbol, además, está personificado porque se asocia automáticamente con el viejo Don Leonardi. La tala del bosque tal como está descrita en este capítulo representa el robarles la vida a los árboles hasta que no existan más, y como hay una correlación entre la existencia de la naturaleza y de la vida humana, este capítulo envuelve la "cuestión existencialista" mencionada arriba. Es exactamente esta cuestión relacionada con el "no-existir" o el "no-ser" de Don Juan (Montes Huidobro) dentro de las escenas de la novela. En otras palabras, Don Juan no tiene vida como tampoco la tiene un bosque sin árboles. Sin embargo, el no-existir del Don Juan azoriniano de nuevo demuestra el carácter anti-donjuanesco del anti-héroe: el no-existir es el clímax de la pasividad de Don Juan, así destruyendo el carácter tradicional del arquetipo. Resulta que mientras en Zorrilla la presencia de Don Juan se puede sentir a cada momento de la lectura aunque el protagonista no esté presente en la escena, la presencia del mismo en la novela de Azorín es apenas evidente. No sólo nos olvidamos del anti-héroe cuando no forma parte de ciertos capítulos, sino que aun en los que Don Juan aparece, su figura más bien se caracteriza por una ausencia e inexistencia sutiles, provocadas por los personajes secundarios más dominantes. Es como si la figura secular del Don Juan hubiera desaparecido mientras su alma está flotando entre las líneas de la novela, el purgatorio literario azoriniano en donde el alma donjuanesca sufre por no estar en el foco mundano de tipo zorrillesco, y donde purga sus pecados terrenales. Es como si el Don Juan de Azorín fuera el *Ninguno*, hijo español del *Don Nadie* (Don Juan Tenorio) como lo describe Octavio Paz en *El laberinto de la soledad*. Mientras *Don Nadie* "posee don, vientre, honra [y] llena al mundo con su vacía y vocinglera presencia" al estar "en todas partes", "*Ninguno* es silencioso y tímido, resignado. Es sensible e inteligente. Sonríe siempre. Espera siempre". "...los demás[...]disimulan su existencia, obran como si no existiera. Lo nulifican, lo anulan, lo ningunean" (49). "Es una omisión. Y sin embargo, Ninguno está presente siempre. Es nuestro secreto, nuestro crimen y nuestro remordimiento" (50). En otras palabras: el Don Juan azoriniano es símbolo de toda la humanidad. Es símbolo de cada ser humano y su ausencia representa el purgar de los pecados.

Asimismo, el tema de la injusticia social también contribuye a la descaracterización de Don Juan Tenorio, y a la vez despliega el alma en el proceso de salvación llevado a cabo por Doña Inés. El capítulo "El niño descalzo" trata este tema. Azorín aquí nos presenta a un niño descalzo que, por su debilidad, apenas puede llevar el haz de leña sobre sus hombros. Al estar descalzo y tener el cuerpo doblado por el peso de la leña, el niño evoca en los lectores una imagen de Cristo, cargado con los

pecados de la humanidad, representativo de la injusticia social y símbolo del dolor. Es esta imagen otra prueba del alma en transformación y evolución hasta el estado glorioso pintado en el epílogo.

Lo que no se debe olvidar es el hecho de que la salvación de Don Juan nunca hubiera sido posible sin la ayuda de Doña Inés, que a finales de la obra zorrillesca funciona como intermediaria entre Dios y Don Juan. Como mencionamos anteriormente, es ella quien realiza el milagro de la salvación del alma descrita en la novela de Azorín. De este modo, asociamos a Doña Inés automáticamente con la Virgen María, que en la obra medieval *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* de Gonzalo de Berceo también está descrita como representante divina. De esta manera, Doña Inés en Zorrilla es indudablemente símbolo del culto mariano, que no solamente floreció durante el Medioevo, sino que es un culto que sigue vivo en nuestros días. Es un culto que exige de la mujer tener una doble personalidad. Por un lado, se la considera virgen, figura dominante e importantísima dentro de la esfera religiosa. Concebida ella misma de forma inmaculada, es madre capaz de una inmaculada concepción. Por otro lado, los hombres exigen que sea ser sexual, que sea amante y prostituta. Como explica Octavio Paz en su famoso ensayo *El laberinto de la soledad*, la mujer es “un instrumento, ya de los deseos del hombre, ya de los fines que le asignan la ley, la sociedad o la moral [...] Prostituta, diosa, gran señora, amante, la mujer transmite o conserva, pero no crea, los valores y energías que le confían la naturaleza o la sociedad. En un mundo hecho a la imagen de los hombres, la mujer es sólo un reflejo de la voluntad y querer masculinos. Pasiva, se convierte en diosa, amada, ser que encarna los elementos estables y antiguos del universo: la tierra, madre y virgen; activa, es siempre función, medio, canal” (39).

Doña Inés también es figura virginal. Es figura mariana que es “función, medio [y] canal”. Es intercesora divina. Pero aunque activamente ayuda a Don Juan Tenorio a ser salvado, su ser intrínseco es pasivo y se puede argumentar que aun después de su propia salvación del alma, ella—como mujer—no se puede escapar de su rol femenino como lo podemos ver en—digamos—la continuación novelesca de su ser Doña Inés por Azorín.

En esta novela, Doña Inés de edad avanzada es—de nuevo—víctima a causa del amor hacia un hombre menor, Diego, que por carácter parece ser el don Juan que se ha salvado. Se ha distinguido desde su niñez por su carácter pensativo y por sus ojos brillantes azules y se ha destacado por ser trovador. Sin embargo es hombre silencioso y a la vez despliega un comportamiento caracterizado por movimientos rápidos (Azorín 123-125).

En Doña Inés, la protagonista, o más bien la quasi heroína romántica, se encuentra en una lucha psicológica interior. Si consideramos esta novela un intento de continuar con la vida de ultratumba de Doña Inés, entendemos el conflicto de la mujer que es la búsqueda del amor, que Doña Inés pensaba haber encontrado al salvar al alma de Don Juan Tenorio, y que ahora trata de encontrar en la figura de Diego.

Mientras en la obra de Zorrilla Doña Inés es más bien una mujer conservadora, obedeciendo y cumpliendo con las reglas sociales, en la novela azoriniana este carácter femenino se rebela como heroína romántica típica por su frustración personal. Esta frustración tiene varias causas. Por un lado, Doña Inés se da cuenta de que está en proceso de envejecimiento, y por otro lado siente las presiones sociales que no le permiten a una mujer amar a un hombre más joven. Por eso rechaza los sentimientos amorosos de Diego, aun estando enamorada de él. Es mujer muy sensible que quiere salir de la norma, que quiere romper las reglas que le impone la sociedad española de principios del siglo XX. Quiere estar con Diego y amarlo, pero no es capaz de lograr sus anhelos porque se siente atrapada dentro de las leyes sociales y no sabe escaparse de esa prisión.

En realidad, este “yo rebelde” tan típico del romanticismo y tan enfocado en sí mismo, se siente incomprendido y aislado espiritualmente. Doña Inés no habla con nadie del conflicto interior que siente en su alma, y así vemos su corazón en rebeldía, pero esta rebeldía nunca se manifiesta de manera tradicional romántica como en *Don Juan Tenorio*, donde el protagonista sí es capaz de romper

con las reglas sociales. Es decir, Doña Inés se rebela solamente hasta cierto punto y luego se retira y cede Diego a Plácida. Rechaza entonces el amor que Diego siente por ella y huye del país, hecho que consideramos rebeldía pasiva pero no tradicionalmente romántica.

Sin embargo, es romántico el elemento del amor fracasado, el amor que nunca se lleva a cabo. Al huir, Doña Inés busca una solución en otro espacio geográfico. Escapa de España a la Argentina en una actitud casi renacentista como la conocemos de los colonizadores: buscar soluciones para los problemas del viejo mundo en el Nuevo Mundo. Es el huir hacia una utopía que, en el caso de Doña Inés, solamente conoce por una litografía. Y como vemos al final de la novela, esta utopía tampoco se realiza. Doña Inés sigue siendo una mujer frustrada e infeliz. Ha ayudado a salvar a Don Juan Tenorio, pero no le queda nada más que un amor no realizado, no le queda nada más que un sueño.

Finalmente, vemos en el epílogo de Doña Inés que la leyenda de la mujer "salva-almas", que se sacrifica a causa de un hombre y a causa de una sociedad rígida, no se ha acabado. Vemos en esta parte de la novela azoriniana Doña Inés dedicándose a niños de familias españolas pobres. En la misma parte, notamos un niño, "otro futuro poeta", que nos hace recordar a Diego que le partió el corazón a Doña Inés, y nos damos cuenta de que el mito de Don Juan—salvado o no—seguirá viviendo (Azorín Doña Inés 220). Por eso propongo que el *donjuanismo* no se puede discutir sin considerar el *doñainesismo* también. "*Doñainesismo*" quiere aludir entonces a un rol femenino tradicional que complementa el rol tradicional masculino.

A pesar de todo nos preguntamos, ¿qué papel juega el *donjuanismo* teniendo en mente la sociedad de hoy día? La respuesta es obvia. El estereotipo donjuanesco no puede existir sin el estereotipo mariano, encarnados respectivamente por el don Juan y la doña Inés de la sociedad española en particular y de la latinoamericana en general. El varón español o latino no tiene honra sin la mujer que la guarda. El hombre no puede controlar la esfera religiosa sin mantener a la figura femenina como parte integral de la misma. El ser masculino no puede ser participante dominante y activo de las esferas políticas y económicas sin que la mujer sea pasiva. El hombre nunca podría ser proveedor de la familia sin una esposa y madre de sus hijos de carácter pasivo. Y finalmente, la infidelidad estereotípica del latino (conocido bajo el concepto del "latin lover" en los Estados Unidos) nunca existiría si las mujeres no cumplieran su papel de amantes, papel exigido por los hombres, pero que a la vez constituye peligro para la honra masculina.

Sin embargo, mientras una mujer puede deshonorar a un hombre con su propia infidelidad pero no es capaz de volver a ganar su propia honra (que es la de la familia entera), el hombre no necesita preocuparse. Ya puede ser el más grande pecador que el mundo ha conocido, que *María* siempre estará para perdonarlo.....piensa don Juan. Pero no se ha dado cuenta de que los tiempos están cambiando de modo que ya se va imponiendo una nueva actitud expresada hace ya mucho tiempo por un proverbio mexicano que dice: *Vale más quedada, que mal casada*.

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# A POETICS OF WANDERING

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## ABSTRACT

Early Modernist women, rather than Modernist men, provide the models for the experimental stream of Modernist writing and later writing. The metaphor of wandering can be used to describe what they produced and how they produced it.

let come what would happen to come because after all knowledge is what you know but what is happening is inevitably what is happening to come (Stein, *Lectures* 158).

In her essay, "Re:Thinking:Feminist:Literary:Theory," poet/critic Joan Retallack dismisses the accomplishments of Modernist women writers, except perhaps for Gertrude Stein, and gives the floor to the men, who, she says, already accepted in society as writers, could risk experimental work. The women, she claims, were still too wobbly, in their struggle for acceptance, to take the same kinds of risks. The dismissal by Retallack is ironic since it is precisely the wobbliness of experimental writing, walking the line of "unintelligAbility" as she calls it, that, for her, marks off traditional from experimental work—a listening for what is as yet unheard.

The truth is that Modernist women writers transcribed the wobbliness of their newly discovered and still in-discovery lives as independent beings directly into their writing. Stein and Richardson openly declared that they purposely wrote directly from their experience, that they felt that was the only legitimate source of writing (*Selected Writings* 517; Hanscombe 86). I call this wobbling "wandering" after Gertrude Stein in *Melanctha* (Stein uses the word "wandering" to describe Melanctha's self-education):

From the time that Melanctha was twelve until she was sixteen she wandered, always seeking but never more than very dimly seeing wisdom. (*Selected Writings* 348)

With a wandering poetics, women Modernists, far from lagging behind the men, actually laid the groundwork for the more radical strains of male Modernism.

Wandering is the recourse of a being without prior maps and corresponds to Retallack's concept of "unintelligAbility." The early Modernist women lived at a time when unlimited doors seemed to be opening. The male writers, even as they sought change, had a tradition and a pattern against which to set themselves or which they could choose to follow. Because their self-realization did not depend on it, the experimentation of many of the men can be seen as art for art's sake, even a game. But the women were not just making up a new form of writing. They were inventing themselves. The stakes were supremely high and the path uncharted. As the young Melanctha did, who had no tradition of an independent woman artist to guide her in her learning, they used wandering as a means to come to wisdom. Mina Loy wrote in her 1914 "Feminist Manifesto":

Women, if you want to realize yourselves (for you are on the brink of a devastating psychological upheaval) all your pet illusions must be unmasked. The lies of centuries have got to be discarded. Are you prepared for the WRENCH? // There is no half measure, no scratching on the surface of the rubbish heap of tradition. Nothing short of Absolute Demolition will bring about reform. (*Last Lunar Baedeker* 269)

"Absolute Demolition" prepares for a rebuilding for which there are no guidelines. "Realizing yourselves" is a matter of feeling one's way, of "listening" as both Stein and Retallack put it, of "wandering" in search of completely new wisdom—parallel to Retallack's "unintelligAbility." It had to be an open-ended experimental mode of being and writing, which is why I find it surprising that Retallack does not recognize this as a radical Modernist women's way of proceeding. True,



women had not previously had even the solidity to attempt such an exploration, but, as Louise Bernikow and others describe, an exploratory way of living and writing was made possible for many Modernist women for the first time by the moral and physical support, the feedback and community they afforded each other, community as unprecedented as their writing. For the wandering is both literal and metaphorical. Melanctha wanders the streets, an exploration both of body and mind. In *A Room of One's Own*, Woolf wanders the lawns of Oxbridge and lanes in the countryside while her mind wanders the mental countryside of the question of women and fiction. Woolf constantly intertwines movement with thought:

So I went back to my inn, and as I walked through the dark streets I pondered this and that, as one does at the end of a day's work. (24)

Thus provided, thus confident and enquiring, I set out in the pursuit of truth. The day, though not actually wet, was dismal . . . (26)

So thinking . . . I found my way back to my house by the river. (39)

But what bearing has all this upon the subject of my paper, Women and Fiction? I asked, going indoors. (40)

Proceeding with ears open for the unintelligible, or "wandering," was in fact the only possibility for women newly emancipated into an age where they could travel alone, earn money, live openly with men and with other women, go places not frequented by women, drink and smoke, not get married or have children, or if they did have children, leave them behind while they went on their wanderings, as Mina Loy did. And, because they were writers, these new freedoms included exploring how women would express themselves, how they would describe the lives they were only just putting their toes into.

The *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of Current English* defines "wander" as "go from place to place without any special purpose or destination . . . leave the right path or direction . . . be absent-minded; allow the thoughts to go from subject to subject." The underwritten curricula for the words "special," "right," "absent" make it clear that wandering is not the "right" way to acquire wisdom. The traditional male way of achieving wisdom is not one of wandering. Men went to school for a rigorous course of training. Stein's comment on such rigorous training as she experienced as an undergraduate at Harvard is that it "made me stop listening" (*Lectures* 137).

Wandering, the kind of listening Stein talked about, was a female mode of learning, not the structured school learning given to boys at the time. Elizabeth Barrett Browning tells in her poetic novel, *Aurora Leigh*, how she learned by wandering through her father's library, even that being an unusual privilege for a girl at that time (7, 23-27). Virginia Woolf describes herself and other women as grabbing whatever came to hand (for many of them also, books in their fathers' libraries) because they were not given a "real" education. It is obvious, as one reads her wandering search (both literally and in thought) for answers in *A Room of One's Own*, that this method, stigmatized as not "right" in the dictionary, stood her in very good stead indeed (26-27). Stein, who had a formal education, recognized in her boredom the male direction was not her way to wisdom, and she wrote about wandering in *Melanctha* shortly afterwards (*Melanctha* was published in 1909). Stein, like Melanctha, would take a wandering path to a woman's form of wisdom.

Wandering looks directionless, undirected. One goes over the same ground again and again, spiralling an area so that wisdom accrues, accretes to the speaker, who, because she is undirected, "uses everything" that comes within reach (Stein, *Selected Writings* 517-18). In this passage of "Composition as Explanation," Stein describes her work as "a groping for using everything and . . . a groping for a continuous present and . . . an inevitable beginning of beginning again and again" (518). In *A Room of One's Own*, Woolf curses the lack of training in research that forces her to take down stacks and stacks of books, only to conclude that she has found nothing. She compares herself miserably to the young man in the cubicle next to her, who has the training to know exactly where

he is going and has no need to grope or to "use everything" (*Room of One's Own* 27-28). But of course, in the wandering that was necessary to her as a woman with no formal schooling, she found the kernel of what she came to understand—that "fathering" (Stein's word in *Everybody's Autobiography* 133, 139), in this case books about women written by men, was not going to help her find out about women, only about men's anger against women. The finding out, from scratch, as Mina Loy pointed out, was going to have to come from women themselves. And what Woolf doesn't say, but what becomes obvious as she wanders from library to dining hall to home to moors (Woolf attributed—in *A Writer's Diary* 37, 203, 215, 218-19, etc.—creative success to a freedom to wander, to take walks so that she might wander fruitfully in her mind) is that the wandering is her mode of research and forms her style of writing.

Stein says of writing *The Making of Americans* (1904-1906 when Joyce was working on the still relatively traditional *Portrait of the Artist*) "I made almost a thousand pages of a continuous present.//Continuous present is one thing and beginning again and again is another thing. These are both things. And then there is using everything" (*Selected* 518). This is one beginning (again and again) to a poetics of female Modernism. And the prose of *The Making of Americans* shifts the boundaries between prose and poetry, since "poetics" here encompasses formal properties of both prose and poetry. Genre trouble as well as gender trouble is a mark of the Modernist women writers. The very word "poetics" becomes ambiguous because three of the women who produced a women's poetics in the very first years of the century, Stein, Woolf and Richardson, were not writing poetry at the time but a prose that verges always on poetry. For instance, this is from *Melantha*:

She had as completely pride in her as sensitiveness and intelligent gentleness inside her. She had in her pride as sensitive, as intelligent, as complete as the loving being in her when she was loving Redfern. She had in her pride as sensitive, as intelligent, as complete as the being ever in her. (*Selected* 288)

Wandering is research in which everything is of equal value, so using everything comes "naturally" as Stein said of her own writing. Not knowing beforehand what will be of use, the wanderer touches and notices everything she passes, only finding out as she goes what will move her wandering in what direction. Something catches her eye maybe, or a custodian leaps out in her pathway, or she comes to the railroad yard. Interconnected, all three intimately hooked in to wandering, "the continuous present," "beginning again and again," and "using everything" were radical new modes of writing, which, because of their methods of self-education, came naturally to women.

When Stein was working on *The Making of Americans*, Richardson was beginning her own journey in a continuous present, beginning again and again and using everything. Richardson sought a woman's realism for the novel, which she saw as formerly a male form: "Since all these novelists happened to be men, the present writer, proposing at this moment to write a novel and looking round for a contemporary pattern, was faced with the choice between following one of her regiments and attempting to produce a feminine equivalent of the current masculine realism" (*Pointed Roofs* 9). She regarded a lack of punctuation as a sign of feminine form (Stein agreed): "Feminine prose . . . should properly be unpunctuated, moving from point to point without formal obstruction" (12). Even where Richardson uses punctuation, the effect is of a continuous line, a horizon note as contemporary poet Denise Levertov calls the sustaining presence in her poems. And, again, there is the elision between Richardson's internally wandering prose and poetry:

The win-ter may—pass . . . The win-ter . . . may pass. The winter may . . . pass. The Academy . . . a picture in very bright colours . . . a woman sitting by the roadside with a shawl around her shoulders and a red skirt and red cheeks and bright green country behind her . . . people moving about on the shiny floor, someone just behind saying, 'that is plein-air, these are the plein-airistes'—the woman in the picture was like the housekeeper . . . (145)

The effect of Richardson's prose is of going on and on, as Stein might have put it, from moment to moment and minute interior detail to detail. Since Richardson believed that no one should write about what they had not experienced, she wrote, as Gillian Hanscombe points out in

"Dorothy Richardson versus the Novvle," about her own life. And she wrote it in such a way that it accrued, moment to moment, without traditional plot, climax, denouement, in the continuous present. The novel is the life, the life the novel—a world-sized map of the world, in effect. It makes no difference that the volumes are written in the past tense; the time is all the same. It is/was/will be happening as it is/was/will be happening, and we therefore experience Miriam's life completely with her, minutely, as she experiences it—"what is happening to come" as Stein said.

This particular mode (continuous present) of unbuttoning the traditional structure of the novel (a structure which had been driven by humanistic progression and development of plot and characters) allows for an intense, pleasurable, seemingly aimless wandering to occur. There is time to savor minute details, like Miriam's first experience with a cigarette, that would have been pushed out of the way by the demands of traditional plot and character development. There is no climax to *Pilgrimage*, any more than there is to life. The author is "using everything."

It is interesting to see how these three novelists use wandering. Each has her own methods, culled from her own background, and reaches a different, if connected, result. In "Composition as Explanation," Stein describes her history of writing. She began, she says with *Three Lives*, and already there was a constant recurring and beginning and a "marked direction of being in the present." She attributes this to her "natural" sense that "a prolonged present is a natural composition in the world as it has been these thirty years" (*Selected* 517). Stein's background in psychological lab work and her scientific inclination pushed her toward linguistic experiment with words, phrases, sentences and paragraphs. She cared less about what Rachel Blau DuPlessis calls being "readable" and more about actually presenting live on the page the "composition" of the moment, of her generation ("Woolfenstein" 105). And composition was, as she said, what was "forming around me." The composition she put down on the page must have the same internal grammar/logic as the composition "at which they are all looking." "Composition is the difference which makes each and all of them then different from other generations and this is what makes everything different" (*Selected* 513). She was quite literal about this and quite stringent. Her composition would follow the internal logical structure of what she was looking at or listening to (once she was able to start listening again, having abandoned patriarchal poetry and its loathing of mistakes), whether she was writing the poetic prose of *Making of Americans* or the prose poetry of "Tender Buttons."

*Melanctha*, for instance, is something that Stein had been listening to in this special sense of wandering/listening, a composition she had seen in the world and would transfer, lock, stock and barrel, to the page. It was the shape of her world at a particular time, and there had to be in it, as she said, continuous present, beginning again and again, and using everything. These three are the logical, structural devices that Stein uses to make the composition on the page "the same" as the composition in the world, since she believes that these structures are the markers of her generation's looking at the world, "what is seen" (*Selected* 517).

Stein, Richardson and Woolf, as novelists, were searching for a way of writing that would take them out of the land of the fathers, whom Stein much later described as

... depressing. Everybody nowadays is a father, there is father Mussolini and father Hitler and father Roosevelt and father Stalin and father Lewis and father Blum and father Franco is just commencing now and there are ever so many more ready to be one. Fathers are depressing. . . . The periods of the world's history that have always been most dismal ones are the ones where fathers were looming and filling up everything. . . . Well feudal days were the days of fathers and now once more these days are the days of fathers. (*Everybody's Autobiography* 133 and 139)

Fathering, a male way of going on, is "depressing," "feudal," and to judge from the list of fathers, fascist. A feudal society is one with ironclad hierarchies, a slave class, no mobility either in class or literal place, and rigid repression for women. Stein could see quite well, by the time fascism was

spreading in Europe, the recapitulation in fascism of feudalism, its tight emotional control of people's lives and the corsetting fear it worked within—both lauding women as the “Mothers of the Nation” and making sure “the best” would be mothers and nothing else, tools of genetic engineering.

In *Everybody's Autobiography*, she describes at length the freedom that unfolds in families without fathers. Although, perhaps ironically, Stein found some of her answers in the philosophy of a man, William James, she saw him as an exception (exemplified in his giving her an “A” for her note that she did not feel like taking an exam that day). She took his philosophy and stretched it a thousand pages into a psychological experiment with unfathering the novel.

When Richardson goes on and on, never ending her novel, I am reminded of what Stein says in “The Gradual Making of *The Making of Americans*”—if she went on and on, beginning again and again, she would be able to write down a portrait of every kind of person there could be (*Lectures* 142). And it is not a surface portrait she means, but the essence, what she calls “the bottom nature” of each different kind of person (138). What Richardson is doing, the constancy of small detail, the interiors glancing off each other, the repetition of situations, seems also to be reaching for some such essential interior. I perceive a similar technique in Virginia Woolf. The three are reaching to capture essential moments over and over again, enough of which will delineate a life. Woolf decries “materialist” writing, such as that of Bennett, Wells and Galsworthy, because “they write unimportant things; that they spend immense skill and immense industry making the trivial and the transitory appear the true and the enduring” (*Common Reader* 153).

Rachel Blau DePlessis assigns a revolutionary power to Stein's experiment, described as “her recursive rhythm in which nothing goes far to anywhere, but starts repeatedly:”

Of course, if everything is perpetually beginning again and again, it is also finishing again and again, but once everything is finishing again and again, finishing is simply another version of beginning . . . Stein's tactic may serve some of the many subversive functions boldly graphed by Barthes: “an anti-theological activity, an activity that is truly revolutionary, since to refuse to fix meaning [at the end] is, in the end, to refuse God and his hypotheses—reason, science, law.” (105)

Without commenting at this point on DuPlessis' use of the word “subversive,” which Joan Retallack specifically critiques, it makes sense that a text which pushes toward a continuous present would have to begin over and over again. Each moment will be a new beginning and so, of course, as Richardson shows with her continuous life novel (and as Joyce was to do finally in *Finnegans Wake* with its ending feeding back into its beginning), there is no particular place of beginning or of ending that will be “satisfying” in the traditional sense of the denouement of a novel. Denied the satisfaction of a traditional ending, the pleasure is a pleasure in which we are immersed, that is timeless, as DuPlessis points out, and it will go on and on.

So far, in this wandering poetics, I have talked about prose. What about the early modernist women poets? How can they be seen to be wandering? Laura Riding, in a criticism of Imagism and other “twentieth-century dead movements,” opposes a poetry that already has its sights set, that knows where it is going and will proselytize for it (Pound and “the Imagists had decided beforehand the kind of poetry that was wanted by the time”) to a poetry in motion where “the system in it means only the constant shifting and adjustment of the experimenter as the unknown thing becomes more and more known: system is the readiness to change system” (117 & 125). Poetics in this latter mode, then, shifts from a safari that is already laid out and foreseen, at least in its direction, to an exploration that allows a poetry to surface, whether it will be recognized in its time as poetry or not—“the discovery of new values in poetry with an indifference to the recognition they receive,” as Riding says. Riding's poetic explorations took her, in fact, ultimately out of what she was willing to recognize as poetry.

Stein crossed the line from prose to poetry quite naturally in her wandering. Having gone as far as she felt she could with prose as she describes it ("a description of anyone of anyone one and everything there was to be known about any one") she felt impelled to go on to "let come what would happen to come because after all knowledge is what you know but what is happening is inevitably what is happening to come" (*Lectures* 158). She had pushed the paragraph as far as she could to see what prose was made of, renouncing nouns and adjectives and commas because she found them to be blinkers and crutches. But "slowly it was not enough to satisfy myself with a whole thing as a paragraph as a whole thing" (159). A poetics of wandering (continuous present, beginning again and again, using everything) brought her through portraits of people and places to portraits of things and what she came to recognize as poetry because it was about confronting nouns (or naming) in a way which revealed rather than concealing under already-decided labels. It was a different naming (she likens it to being in love) which was at the heart of poetry (232). Stein's particular poetry came as a continuation of her exploration of language's interaction with the world, how the structure of what is put on the page could be the structure of the thing she looked at. Other poets' wandering brought them to difference places.

Mina Loy, passionate world wanderer herself, was among the first to read Stein's manuscript of *Making of Americans* and one of the few Stein praised as understanding it. Loy's self-education included experiences she incorporated into her art in a mobile pastiche of satire and cultural commentary: a life-changing encounter with Marinetti and the Futurists, friendships with Djuna Barnes and Duchamps, her marriage to Dada avatar Arthur Cravan. Loy pulled her adventure with deepest life into her writing as she went. She did not have a platform she would stick to through thick and thin. In fact, she constantly revised and publicly satirized her own former stances. This, I think, is why Stein appreciated Loy for understanding her project and dismissed Pound as a "village teacher who took fixed stances and pontificated rather than being open to real wobbliness, to not knowing."

Loy's foray into Futurism included an affair with Giovanni Papini, which she satirized in the poem, "The Effectual Marriage or The Insipid Narrative of Gina and Miovanni," where her female role of letting the mad do the thinking, being an ornament and staying in the kitchen are all lambasted.

In the evening they looked out of their two windows  
 Miovanni out of his library window  
 Gina from the kitchen window  
 From among his pots and pans  
 Where he so kindly kept her. (*Last Lunar Baedeker* 31)

There is a note after the end of the poem: "This narrative halted when I learned that the house which inspired it was the home of a mad woman." (35) Using narrative in the sense of life as well as in the sense of the poem itself, Loy comments on the fact that once she realized that she was mad in this role of "good little woman," the narrative had to come to an end.

Loy forces us to see that she, the supremely intelligent and beautiful (as everyone, including Conover in his Introduction to *Last Lunar Baedeker* (xx-xxi), endlessly repeats), the celebrated free woman of whom the popular paper, *The New York Evening Sun* said, "if she isn't the Modern Woman, who is, pray?" was as capable of this slavish position as every other woman on earth.

Miovanni remained  
 Monumetnally the same  
 The same Miovanni  
 If he had become anything else  
 Gina's world would have been at an end. (*Last Lunar Baedeker* 34-35)

In this and other poems, with no punctuation until the last period and erratic spacing, Loy marks ways of writing she was picking up from those around her (her contact with Stein for instance). Engaging in exploration that was her *raison d'être*—of herself and the world as it exists for women—Loy adopted useful tools from friends and enemies. Early involvement with the Futurists, with Stein, and with Dada, shows in the development of her work along with the development of her consciousness. Unlike Stein, who endeavored to put material grammar on the page, Loy engaged in public political statements, first with her leafletted Manifestos, taken in form but not in content from the Futurists, and later with her acerbic satirical poems about love, growing up a girl, and what it means to be a woman.

Stein, Richardson, Woolf, and Loy influenced each other and other writers of the time, both male and female. Although *Making of Americans* was not published until 1925, it was passed around in manuscript form (Loy being only one of the many who read it). Rachel Blau DuPlessis describes it sitting on Woolf's desk waiting for her Publisher's eye, and, how, though Woolf rebelled against its structure and its hugeness, its unreadability, she could not but see how it would lead toward new possibilities in what she was trying. DuPlessis says, "As early and middle Woolf was challenged by Dorothy Richardson's *Pilgrimage* and its critique and narrative, one might equally attempt the notion that later Woolf (including *The Waves* and *Between the Acts*) was challenged by the formal designs, the repetitions, the grids, the critique of the center, the otherness of the work of Gertrude Stein" ("Woolfenstein" 101).

Linda Kinnahan notes how Mina Loy, in her work with William Carlos Williams on the magazine *Others*, influenced Williams in his rejection of Pound's masculine approach to poetry. Kinnahan says of Loy:

The inclusion of Mina Loy in the story of modernism changes many conceptions of that movement, particularly its relation (whether reactionary or congenial) with feminism's attack upon institutionalized forms of gender. Loy's works clearly exemplify [a] definition of "feminist literature" as "texts that reveal a critical awareness of woman's subordinate position and of gender as a problematic category. ...Loy's strategies of language rupture, montage and self-reflexiveness work to defamiliarize and question gender ideologies prevalent in her time." (14)

Kinnahan sees Williams as influenced by Loy in his perception of "sexual desire, gendered authority, and the social construction of the gendered self" (21). Once he had met Loy and her explicitly sexual poetry, her self-reflexive, constantly critical viewpoint, and her deep awareness of the temptations for women to cease struggling and be looked after, Kinnahan claims Williams' writing changed to include an awareness of gender and power. She points to his ongoing long-distance struggle with Pound over a locus for poetry. Pound was spearheading an endeavor from abroad to reclaim the masculine as the realm of poetry, while Williams took what Kinnahan sees as a female position of staying at home and chronicling the detailed observations of his local wandering. (Loy was later to refuse to publish in journals run by Pound and his followers because of their sexism (*Last Lunar Baedeker* xxi).) Through Williams the influence has continued through the Objectivists and Olson to a present-day experimental tradition. What is not so well known is the unacknowledged formative influence of women like Mina Loy, Stein, Marianne Moore and Richardson (for whose effect on Joyce's writing as well as Woolf's see Gillian Hanscombe's essay "Dorothy Richardson Versus the Novvle") on this tradition.

The early Modernist women produced a body of writing and a particular way of gathering and setting down information that foregrounds a female rather than a male initiation to the Modernist experience. The women did this not by responding to the misogynist undergirdings of male modernism (a choice which, as Retallack points out, leads to recapitulation within a male process and which earlier, Mina Loy had warned against in "A Feminist Manifesto"), but by unrelentingly pursuing their own self-realization. When we talk of Modernist adventures in stream-of-consciousness writing, an experimental approach that employs associative thinking, decentered time frames, disassociated experience, self-reflexive consciousness, we are talking about

a Modernism that was begun and nurtured early on by women in search of a way to speak as women and only later picked up and made famous by Modernist men.

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# KANG SHIN-JAE'S "YOUNG ZELKOVA TREE": TRAGEDY SUBVERTED BY AESTHETIC EXPRESSION

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## ABSTRACT

The highly acclaimed short story "Chôlmûn nû'tinamu" or "Young Zelkova Tree" by the Korean woman writer Kang Shin-jae debuted in the literary magazine *Sasangkye* in January 1960. This short story, which is her most accomplished literary work, was so widely and popularly received by the society at the time that a movie was produced, based on the literary work. But nothing can be more paradoxical and more contradictory than the fact that this story, which implies a potentially incestuous relationship between a step-brother and step-sister, was actually well-received by a traditionally Confucian, moralistic Korean society.

There are two factors that may account for this paradox. First, the society was undergoing changes in its outlook on traditional values, embracing imported ideas that challenged these very notions. Second, Kang's short story provided this same combination of tradition and openness to new ideas by the masterful way in which she disguised the subject of potential incest through the beautiful portrayal of an innocent love between two young people. Consequently, this short story is reflective of the social sentiment of the times. However, and more importantly, I will argue that it was probably more the latter factor—subversion of possible incest by aesthetic expression in the text itself—which brought the story such public acclaim. The tragic implication of possible incest is veiled through the writer's artistic use of language.

## INTRODUCTION

The short story "Chôlmûn nû'tinamu" or "Young Zelkova Tree" by the Korean woman writer Kang Shin-jae appeals to my senses in many forms, and yet it has been a point of self-contention. There are not only interlocking issues but also overlapping approaches to and within the text. In any case, let me begin.

"Young Zelkova Tree" is one of Kang Shin-jae's many literary works. This highly acclaimed short story debuted in the Korean literary magazine *Sasangkye* (*World of Thought*) in January of 1960 and, in 1970, became the title of a collection of the author's stories. This short story was so widely and popularly received by the society at the time that a movie based on this work was produced in 1968,<sup>1</sup> and in 1986 it was made into a TV drama by TV *Munhakkwan* (*Center for Literature*).

Critics like Kim Yun-sik in *Hanguk sosôlsa* (*History of the Korean Novel*) described it as a story about a young, innocent love. Kwôn Young-min in *Hanguk hyôntae munhaksa: 1945-1990* (*History of Contemporary Korean Literature: 1945-1990*) presented it as a love story between a step-brother named Hyôn-kyu and his step-sister Suk-hûi. Kwôn states that it is about the reality of an 18-year-old female protagonist, Suk-hûi, bearing the burden of a love that is tainted with a social taboo, that of a potentially incestuous relationship between herself and Hyôn-kyu.

But what is the deeper, more profound issue behind this story? It is that nothing can be more paradoxical and more contradictory than the very fact that this story, which implies a potentially incestuous relationship between a step-brother and step-sister, was actually well-received by a traditionally Confucian Korean society. How could such a phenomenon occur when incest is not only considered a social taboo in Korea but also universally stigmatized? The answers are found in the text itself.

First, the story presents unusual circumstances that undercut traditional Confucian ideology but which are represented as being acceptable. The remarriage of Suk-hûi's mother, a widow, is already an aberrant practice for the times. According to *Virtues in Conflict* (Mattielli, 1977), "Confucian ideology stressed as the greatest of womanly virtues the wife's devotion to one husband



and, in logical extension, to one lineage. This emphasis on the exclusive nature of the marital relationship eliminated the rationale for taking a second husband."<sup>2</sup> Remarriage of widows was considered a social taboo, but in the story Suk-hûi's grandparents give the mother permission to remarry. The second unusual circumstance is the love relationship between step-brother and step-sister, Hyôn-kyu and Suk-hûi. Suk-hûi's mother married Hyôn-kyu's father. However, the issues of potential incest and the incest taboo are only suggested, not only because there is no portrayal of sexual relations between Suk-hûi and Hyôn-kyu, but also because their love is indirectly expressed and furthermore beautified in form.

The text presents potential incest in the form of a tragic love story. In other words, the issue of potential incest is veiled as a tragedy and furthermore veiled as a love story. When readers read "Young Zelkova Tree", they recall a love story, not a story about potential incest, because the subject matter of potential incest is masterfully subsumed within the framework of a love story, set in a beautified background and interwoven with aesthetically pleasing images. My paper will argue that the very act of beautifying the expression and portrayal of love between Suk-hûi and Hyôn-kyu subverts the tragic nature of potential incest and the incest taboo. What the term tragedy signifies is the combination and manifestation of potential incest and affectionate love merging together—colliding, uniting, separating, forming what is presented as a tragedy. If the element of potential incest was entirely eradicated from the story, then the story would be about young love only. But since the issue of potential incest is what characterizes the love story as being tragic, I will define tragedy and illustrate how it can be identified in the story and demonstrate how it is subverted by aesthetic expression.

I will qualify tragedy as the astonishing courage of a protagonist that is challenged, leading eventually to defeat.<sup>3</sup> In "Young Zelkova Tree", the story does not end with the defeat or the death of the protagonist, which is the reason why I will claim the story is a near-tragedy. The female protagonist, Suk-hûi, possesses the courage to love her step-brother, Hyôn-kyu, despite the challenge of dealing with a potentially incestuous relationship, but her courage does not end in her death. Near-tragedy can be identified as taking the following forms in the story: the tragic voice of Suk-hûi and the tragic nature of a forbidden relationship. Furthermore, I will qualify aesthetic expression as the detailed arrangement and the choice of certain words that form beautified, artistic images.<sup>4</sup> Demonstrating aesthetic expression will entail elucidating and highlighting beautified images found in the text as well as providing concrete evidence from selected passages under the following headings: *plot and first-person narrative point of view, inclusion of loan words, embeddedness of Suk-hûi's tragic voice in beautified landscape, and embeddedness of encounters between Suk-hûi and Hyôn-kyu in nature.*

## ANALYSIS OF TEXT

### *Plot and First-Person Narrative Point of View*

The plot and first-person narrative point of view of Suk-hûi are colored by the beautified images, impressions, and feelings that she has for Hyôn-kyu. For example, this is how the narrative begins:

The smell of soap always floated from him. No, that is not true. I can't say always. When he comes back from school, he rushes to the bathroom to wash himself and after he comes out, that is when he smells like soap. Even when I'm sitting at my desk without making a move, as he draws closer—I can guess his facial expression or his mood way ahead of time.<sup>5</sup>

She experiences feelings of affection for him as the fragrance of soap stimulates her senses. In this manner, her narrative point of view tells the story. She first reveals the beautified portrayal of love between Hyôn-kyu and herself, and only later discloses the real nature of their sibling relationship, so that the horror and shock of potential incest are undermined. The reader is not

fully certain of why she is in a predicament until a third of the way into the story. By this time the reader is already drawn into the story, and may come to understand her narrative point of view and her loving way of perceiving Hyôn-kyu. It is only at this time that Suk-hûi takes the reader back into the past and reveals how she became a step-sister to Hyôn-kyu. Suk-hûi and her mother used to live in the countryside with Suk-hûi's grandparents before Hyôn-kyu's father, who is called Monsieur Lee, asked for the mother's hand in marriage. Suk-hûi's mother left with Monsieur Lee to live in Seoul, which separated Suk-hûi from her mother for a while. Suk-hûi eventually moves to Seoul to live in a large house with the newly formed family.

As the plot develops, Suk-hûi realizes that Hyôn-kyu also has feelings for her when he becomes angry over a love letter that his friend Chi-su wrote to her. Hyôn-kyu slaps Suk-hûi out of jealousy. Soon afterwards, they find out that their mother has to leave for America to temporarily join their father there. Suk-hûi, who is afraid of what will happen to her and Hyôn-kyu when they are alone, decides to retreat to her grandparents' place in the country. At the end of the story Hyôn-kyu goes to see her and tells her that there is a way out of their predicament by going to a foreign country where they can start new lives. Thus their projected reunion subverts a tragic defeat for the protagonist. Moreover, this kind of ending suggests that their relationship can potentially transcend the Korean social context and its boundaries, set up by Confucian values, by placing themselves outside of this context and inside a different social context where personal love and personal emotions can freely abound.

#### *Inclusion of loan words*

The prevalence of loan words<sup>6</sup> of Western origin colors a non-traditional Korean context and sets up an appropriate background for the non-traditional relationship between Suk-hûi and Hyôn-kyu. For example, Suk-hûi prepares some snacks like *coca cola*, *cracker*, and *cheese* for Hyôn-kyu. When they go out to play tennis, such words as *T-shirt*, *racket*, *court*, *net*, *play*, *tennis*, *coach*, and *sports* are found in the text. Other loan words like *blouse*, *love letter*, *sportswear*, *team*, *ballet*, and *scarf* add a Western flair to the lifestyle of an upper middle class family. The inclusion of foreign words in the text subverts the tragic situation of a forbidden relationship because the incorporation of such words paints an enjoyable, well-to-do lifestyle lived out by Suk-hûi and Hyôn-kyu. The pleasant quality of their lifestyle is not hampered by the social constraints and stigma of the incest taboo. Rather, their relationship is nurtured by incorporating foreign words into their everyday lives.

#### *Embeddedness of Suk-hûi's tragic voice in beautified landscape*

Nature functions as the beautified backdrop or canvas upon which the story unfolds. When Suk-hûi is isolated in her predicament, the voicing of her grieving thoughts blends with the aesthetic background. Specifically, in her voice we hear a discourse of desire for her step-brother and conflict with reality because familial ties forbid her from fulfilling those desires.

After Suk-hûi and Hyôn-kyu come back from playing tennis, the following scene takes place at home:

When I come to the terrace where the purple carpet inside is laid out in the spacious room, large pieces of furniture placed here and there, the mysterious stillness dwelling within, and beyond all this the blooming peonies in the vicinity, the fragrance of "lilacs", and when I stand in the midst of the deepening smell of grass—with sudden agonizing realization, I see the meaning of my existence suspended in the purple air.

The pleasure and happiness which I experienced for brief moments were not mine in the end, for they were my sorrow and anguish of strange perversion, no way out for me.

Elder brother.....

Younger sister.....

These words evoke feelings of disgust and horror in my mind and heart. I hate them. The happiness and joy which I felt without a doubt were not permissible in this category of sibling relationship. There is sorrow in the perversion I experience daily of being alone in this purple air.<sup>7</sup>

I shall cut the text into two halves. The first half, the aesthetic description of the background, embeds the second half, which is the voicing of Suk-hûi's agonizing thoughts.

She stands equiposed between the inside and outside, the domestic space and nature's space. Her stance affords her the experience of the gentle atmosphere within such as the sight of purple and the general calm presence of the objects inside. These images are interwoven with the outdoor images of the blossoming peonies and the permeating fragrance of lilacs and grass. She feels the endlessness of space, objects in their rightful places, nature being nature. As her senses are aroused, she drinks in the personal experience of being, standing, perceiving; then in the midst of all this seeming domestic calm and splendor of nature, she realizes with shocking anguish that she is living in a surrealistic state, floating in the purple air. These aesthetic images are stifling to her whose tragic state of being contrasts with these images.

The first half of the text is juxtaposed with Suk-hûi's thoughts. The beautified background invades the internalized, private monologue. As Suk-hûi sees the meaning of her life immersed in the purple air, she exists with inner conflict and exterior serenity and deals with the duality of her existence—step-sister in public and potential lover in private. She aesthetically expresses these emotions as personalized pain, diluting the impact and essence of the dreadful dilemma in which she is trapped. Her internalized monologues are the expression of her diametrically opposed emotions—pleasure is sorrow; happiness is the anguish of perversion. She self-consciously corrects herself, expressing her emotions and at the same time analyzing them, as if distancing herself from her feelings. The issue of potential incest which the protagonist is grappling with is universally horrifying<sup>8</sup> but it is personalized to become a subjective issue and therefore diluted, acceptable, and, ultimately, identifiable by the reader as a human emotion. When she invokes the image of the purple air again, it becomes a reminder that her agony is attenuated by beautified images of nature and a setting of much tranquility and spirituality.

Suk-hûi retires to her bedroom for the evening, and she tells the story of her past. She is alone with her tormenting thoughts and emotions but the following scene surrounds her:

There was a faint glimmer of the river flowing beyond the vast plain dotted with small houses, patches of woods, and shimmering lakes. The river was as whimsical as the weather, glittering like platinum one day and becoming shrouded in fog the next. When the sky turned from purple to light grey, the river merged with the soft grey of the hanging clouds. Viewing the dark river, I thought I must extricate myself from the confusion of tangled emotions. . .<sup>9</sup>

The setting sun and lake are the backdrop upon which she verbalizes her agonizing thoughts. Even when she is wrestling with existential questions like, "Would it be possible for me to become happy? Doesn't happiness stand for something which a human being is born to?"<sup>10</sup> there is the subtle presence of an aesthetic ambience that touches her wrestling thoughts with the following sentence: "The fragrance of blossoms wafted into the room, shrouded in the darkness of an early evening."<sup>11</sup> Moreover she often immerses herself in the natural beauty of the surrounding woods whenever she takes a walk as she simultaneously struggles with her tormenting feelings for Hyôn-kyu.

*Embeddedness of encounters in nature: Displacement of desire as expressions of love*

The scenes of encounter between Suk-hûi and Hyôn-kyu are carefully crafted so that strands of near tragedy are stitched into the fabric of beautified words and images. Nature blends and aestheticizes the tone and mood of their relationship. Moreover, the way the writer has focused on the details of non-verbal communication of gestures and movement of bodily parts all capture

moments of aesthetic expression. For example, Suk-hûi and Hyôn-kyu play tennis in their neighbor's yard, and then walk to the valley where a spring awaits them to quench their thirst.

And he bent down to scoop up the water with the small gourd. He placed it at the tip of my lips. He had a quiet and unfamiliar facial expression . . .

I drank very little of it. And I lifted my face and looked at him. He slowly drank the rest of it. He then put the small gourd back to its original place, but for a moment it seemed like there was a movement of a certain strong emotion that veiled his face.

I was in a state of inexpressible confusion, but I did not let go of this one concrete feeling. And that was joy.<sup>12</sup>

No words are exchanged between them. Between them are just the hushed sound of water flowing and the movement of the arms, hands, neck, lips, eyes, and the lifting, tilting and lowering of their faces which leave lingering traces. And then there are touches—his hands, her lips, his lips press against the gourd. Her lips do not press his lips; but their lips indirectly touch each other via the gourd. Lips that should find themselves against each other place themselves on an inanimate object, lips alienated from touching life. But this very gourd is an extension of their desire to touch each other, flesh to flesh, life reaching out to life. Desire is displaced<sup>13</sup> onto objects. Love is camouflaged in the detailed expression of lips touching the gourd. Then there are intense emotions felt between them. Hyôn-kyu's unfamiliar facial expression and the veiling of his face by strong emotions signify his underlying pain. It is as if agonizing emotions are surfacing to his face. And tragedy lies in the touching of the lips on the gourd, for their mutual understanding of the incest taboo prohibits their lips from touching each other. A direct expression of love is considered illegal, but in virtual silence what was left unsaid is communicated between them—the gentle, careful, almost meditative movements of Hyôn-kyu placing the gourd at the lips of Suk-hûi. This utter simplicity of movements constitutes the folk ceremony of a traditional marriage symbolized in the drinking of water from the gourd, a nuptial cup,<sup>14</sup> from her to him. They indirectly communicate expressions of love and ritual, thus transcending the boundaries of what is forbidden.

The next encounter is after Suk-hûi and Hyôn-kyu return home from playing tennis. Suk-hûi is in her room and Hyôn-kyu is outside.

I was looking out the window, sitting still in the dark at a corner of my room where I could not be seen from the outside. Before it got even darker outside, he got up from the bench. And before fading away into the darkness, he stood there, looking up at my window for the longest time.

I did not turn the lights on at any time. I did not even go down to have dinner.

Instead, I picked up the glass of Coke that he had left behind. Then I quietly placed my lips on it. Like the way he pressed his lips against the gourd I drank from—.<sup>15</sup>

Darkness hides her. She becomes immersed in the dark, encased inside the space of her room. But the window allows a view of him, whose image is followed by her shifting, focused eyes. She continues to watch, imprinting him onto her mind and heart. Her adoration for him is mirrored by his admiration for her. She secretly looks down; he secretly stares up. In silence, he longs for the dark window as if it is Suk-hûi, and she loves him as a fading image encased by the window. They are one step removed from fully seeing each other because of the darkness, window, and their mutual intention to keep their relationship secret, silent, still unexposed even to themselves. The stares are never directly exchanged just as the kisses are never exchanged.

The tragic nature of their forbidden relationship renders what could be a classic window scene reminiscent of *Romeo and Juliet* into an unnatural exchange of stares—he stares at the dark window and she stares at him in the dark, purposely hiding herself there. These behaviors would be considered abnormal in an everyday setting. Social taboo prevents her from going to the window and it keeps her almost imprisoned within the walls of her room. And yet this window and the

darkness are what simultaneously separate and connect both of them to each other, allowing the secret expression of their love. When Suk-hûi places her lips against the glass of Coke which was already touched by his lips, love is expressed in an almost ritualistic reconfirmation of her love for him. Contrary to the gourd scene where Hyôn-kyu offered a gourd to her lips, this time Suk-hûi takes the initiative of pressing her lips against what is meant to be his lips, trying to at least touch what he has touched. The singular, isolated moment of lips touching the glass is an aesthetic expression of her sublimated desire for him.

The following encounter between Hyôn-kyu and Suk-hûi takes place after Hyôn-kyu discovers a letter addressed to Suk-hûi. The letter was written by Chi-su who confessed his love for Suk-hûi. Hyôn-kyu, who becomes enraged with jealousy, confronts Suk-hûi about the letter. Prior to this scene, Suk-hûi had been with Chi-su.

"Where did you go?"

He said firmly in a low voice.

" — — — — "

"Did you leave that letter there so I could read it?"

He took steps closer and closer towards me and stood so close that my face could almost touch his chest.

" — — — — "

I had my mouth shut tightly.

I thought to myself that even if I die I won't say anything.

Suddenly he raised his arm and the noise of a slap on my cheek was heard.

It was burning with fire. All at once tears flooded but he didn't even care to look at me and just left the room.

I just absentmindedly looked out the window.....<sup>16</sup>

Their eyes meet eye to eye as their faces are positioned only inches away from each other. In this intimate setting and compressed space existing between them, Hyôn-kyu's angry voice rings in Suk-hûi's ears as she stands in silence. She is speechless because she does not know his next move, whether he will continue to let their tragic, ill-fated relationship come to a disastrous end or whether he is on the brink of confessing his unabashed feelings for her. But this time there is no gourd, no window, no darkness, nothing preventing him from fully expressing his emotions to her. There are no sanctioned lips, nothing done in secret. The raising of Hyôn-kyu's arm to slap Suk-hûi across her face is the direct expression of his anger that is raw and uninhibited. His anger camouflages jealousy and his jealousy exposes his true feelings for her. His suppressed desires for her are concretely expressed in one significant gesture—his hand that slaps her face. Hyôn-kyu's hand that could have caressed Suk-hûi's cheeks as a display of his affections is ironically sublimated into a slap that could otherwise signify brute violence and hatred. But in this case, Hyôn-kyu's slap signifies jealous rage—a combination of hatred, hurt, and desire for Suk-hûi. He has the mistaken notion that Chi-su and Suk-hûi have a relationship, and as a result Hyôn-kyu feels betrayed by Suk-hûi whom he loves and threatened by Chi-su who in his eyes has taken the one woman he loves. However, his slap is the first, direct bodily contact between them. It is his hand that touches her cheek, flesh touching flesh. It is a scene of lovers. The detailed description of a lover expressing his intense emotions to a woman he loves is portrayed in this scene.

The following is the last scene of the encounter between Suk-hûi and Hyôn-kyu which marks the end of the story. The setting is the woods near Suk-hûi's grandparents' house in the country. After Suk-hûi leaves home to be away from Hyôn-kyu, he goes out in search of her. When they meet, he tells her that they have to be away from each other for now so they can be together later. In the meantime they have to study hard so they can study abroad together in the future. He is implying that they should go to a foreign country where they can take on new identities.

This is how the scene proceeds: Suk-hûi takes a walk in the woods and as she walks toward the zelkova tree, Hyôn-kyu appears in the background. The grey backdrop, fierce wind, and cold air symbolize ominous, tragic overtures. Hyôn-kyu inches towards her and Suk-hûi retreats slowly step by step towards the trunk of the zelkova tree. Suk-hûi is almost paralyzed with fear as she

reaches for the tree because the last time she saw him, he slapped her out of jealousy. Hyôn-kyu is silent. But then the surrounding—the wind, trees, greenery—immerse them in nature. The following is the last scene of the short story:

"Do you understand what I'm saying, Suk-hûi?"  
 My eyes were filled with tears as I nodded my head. My life has not ended. It is all right for me to love him even more.  
 "Now you can promise me that you will return home, right? As soon as possible tomorrow or the day after that....."  
 I nodded my head once again.  
 "Thanks,....."  
 He smiled a little as if it was a forced smile.  
 Then he turned around and ran down the slope of the mountain. The wind blew in my direction.  
 I embraced the young zelkova tree and laughed. As I was crying buckets, I laughed a laughter that spread to the skies. Ah ah, it is all right for me to love him more.<sup>17</sup>

Innocent joy is encapsulated in the tears that fall from Suk-hûi's eyes. Her nod is a simple gesture that reveals her simultaneous disbelief and belief in his words. He speaks. She nods. He speaks to her. She nods. Her utterances, "My life has not ended. It is all right for me to love him even more," are the voices of her heart that genuinely embrace the glorious miracle of being able to express her love to him freely. The genuineness of her joy beautifies her even as the tears fall because this single, intense, overwhelming emotion of joy is enveloping her being - rendering her speechless, almost motionless, and radiating from within. She loved him before and loves him now, but this time it is as if she is given the permission to freely love him with no end. After he leaves, she touches, caresses, embraces, admires the tree in all directions, for she is expressing her love for Hyôn-kyu that is sublimated, projected onto the tree. She holds onto it for dear life as if it were Hyôn-kyu himself. The smiles and tears simultaneously appear. Joy overwhelms conflicting emotions, exploding in a catharsis. The burst of "ah ah" barely captures the expressible sigh of relief and ecstasy, emanating from her inner-most being. "Ah ah" is the audible expression of her heart voicing the fulfillment of her desire. Her joy subverts the ill-fated destruction of the protagonist in a story of tragedy. And the idea of escaping to a foreign country is an alternative reality that subverts the notion of a tragic ending.

## CONCLUSION

As illustrated in "Young Zelkova Tree", a potentially incestuous relationship is represented as an affectionate love relationship framed within the theme of near-tragedy. But it is not a mere substitution because potential incest is complicated and intertwined with the first love relationship between Hyôn-kyu and Suk-hûi. This complicated blending of potential incest and first love is illustrated in the dual identities of step-brother/lover in Hyôn-kyu and step-sister/lover in Suk-hûi who are sometimes neither step-sibling nor lover, simultaneously both, or borderline one and not the other. They have identities that eclipse and overlap, as variant shades of their identities are revealed in their relationship during certain moments and specific encounters. The awkwardness, the silence, the uneasiness, odd behavior, and intentional avoidance and approach between Hyôn-kyu and Suk-hûi are signs of ambivalent tension suspended in their relationship as step-brother/lover and step-sister/lover. But the reconciliation at the end of the story, beautified background, and aesthetic images contrast with and overshadow the tragic nature of the story.

At the time "Young Zelkova Tree" debuted in 1960, Korean society was undergoing changes in its outlook on traditional values and simultaneously embracing imported ideas that challenged these very notions. Perhaps Kang's short story provided this very combination of a revisionist look at tradition and openness to new ideas. But more importantly it is the masterful way in which Kang Shin-jae subsumed the subject of the incest taboo within a beautified portrayal of love that must have allowed a popular, societal response. Moreover, when the reader of today reads the same work that was read decades ago, some of the same emotions are evoked in the readers of the present

as they were in the past. One may attribute this phenomenon to the literary work itself—the timeless value of written words that together form brilliant images in the mind, now, yesterday, and tomorrow. And perhaps it is also due to the nature of the human heart—to respond, reject, accept, or identify with the central character of a story.

## NOTES

- 1 Peter Lee, ed. *Modern Korean Literature*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990, p. 255.
- 2 Sandra Mattielli, *Virtues in Conflict*, Seoul: Samhwa Publishing Co., 1977, p. 37.
- 3 This definition is derived from the *Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*. Alex Preminger, ed., *Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965, p. 860.
- 4 Defining and qualifying aesthetic expression is not an easy task. Aesthetic expression may refer to the theory and ideology of art. However, Benedetto Croce's *Aesthetic as science of expression and general linguistic* sheds some light. Croce states that the term "expression" refers, for example, to the words of a poet or the notes used by a composer. Furthermore, the difference between expression and aesthetic expression parallels, for example, the difference between a grieving man and a man who expresses his grief in the form of a song. Benedetto Croce, Colin Lyas, tr., *Aesthetic as science of expression and general linguistic*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 106.
- 5 Kang Shin-jae, *Chôlmûn nû't'inamu*, "Hanguk hyôntae munhak chônchip, Seoul: Samsung Ch'ulp'ansa, p. 165.
- 6 Loan words are written in Korean and set off in brackets throughout the text. But when the words are pronounced in Korean, they are very similar to the English pronunciation. Therefore, I have written the loan words in italicized English.
- 7 Kang Shin-jae, p. 170.
- 8 See James Twitchell, *Forbidden Partners: The Incest Taboo in Modern Culture*, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986, p. 41.
- 9 Peter Lee, tr., "Young Zelkova Tree," *Flowers of Fire*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986, pp. 263-264.
- 10 Ibid., p. 266.
- 11 Ibid., p. 266.
- 12 Kang Shin-jae, pp. 168-169.
- 13 According to Naomi Schor in *Reading in Detail: Aesthetics and the Feminine*, who quoted Freud when elaborating on the concept of displacement: "Displacement is then a sort of strategy devised by the unconscious to evade censorship, and the hypersemanticized detail, in turn, becomes a camouflage allowing repressed contents to surface" p. 71. See Naomi Schor, *Reading In Detail: Aesthetics and the Feminine*. New York: Methuen, 1987.
- 14 See Sandra Mattielli, *Virtues in Conflict*, Seoul: Samhwa Publishing Co., 1977, p. 20.
- 15 Kang Shin-jae, "Chôlmûn nû't'inamu," p. 170.
- 16 Ibid., p. 180.
- 17 Ibid., p.182.

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# THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COPULA 'SHI' IN CHINESE

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## ABSTRACT

This paper discusses Feng's (1993) and Yen's (1986) proposals regarding the development of the Chinese copula and argues that neither of the approaches is satisfactory. In addition, it points out that Li and Thompson's (1977) topic-to-subject movement is unsatisfactory in explaining the development of the Chinese copula. I suggest that *shi* developed into a copula in the environment 'NP+*shi*+*ye*', where *shi* gradually replaced *ye* and became a marker of the predicate. In addition, this paper also discusses how the insertion of the copula *shi* disambiguates a phrasal vs. a sentential interpretation.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

It is generally believed that equational sentences had no copulas in Archaic Chinese (10th-2nd c. B.C.). According to Wang (1958), the Chinese copula *shi* already existed in Pre-Medieval times (Late Han, 1st c. A.D.). An equational sentence with no copula is given in (1).

- (1) *Kongzi xian ren ye.*  
Confucius virtuous person prt.  
'Confucius is a virtuous person.'  
(Zhan'guoce: Zhaoce)

The Archaic Chinese sentence "subject—nominal predicate—*ye*" in (1) was later replaced by the Modern Chinese sentence, in which there is a copula *shi* between subject and nominal predicate, and *ye* is deleted.<sup>1</sup> An example is shown in (2).

- (2) *Kongzi shi xian ren.*  
Confucius is virtuous person.  
'Confucius is a virtuous person.'

From classical Chinese texts, it is observed that *shi* has different functions. It can act as a determiner as in (3), an affirmative particle as in (4), a demonstrative pronoun as in (5), and a verb as in (6). However, in Modern Chinese it can never be used as a demonstrative pronoun or a verb.

- (3) *Shi* as a determiner  
*Fu-zi zhi yu shi bang ye.*  
Confucius arrive at this nation prt  
'Confucius arrived in this nation.'  
(Lun yu)

- (4) *Shi* as an affirmative particle  
*Ru yi guei shi si ren ze qi bo zang fei ye.*  
if think ghost affirm. dead person then their simple funerals wrong prt.  
'If they think that ghosts are dead people, then their advocacy of simple funerals is wrong.'  
(Lunheng)

(5) *Shi* as a demonstrative pronoun

*Fu yu gui shi ren zhi suo yu ye.*  
 wealth and nobility this person 's thing want prt.  
 'Wealth and nobility, these are the things everybody longs for.'  
 (Lun yu: li ren)

(6) *Shi* as a verb

*Baixing jie shi wu jun er fei lin guo ze zhan yi sheng yi.*  
 citizen all agree our king but not neighbor country then war already win prt  
 'If all the citizens agree with our king but not with our neighbor country, then we  
 have already won the war.'  
 (Wuzi)

There are different hypotheses about the origin of the Chinese copula *shi*: (a) it developed from an affirmative particle, as suggested by Yen (1986); (b) it came from a demonstrative pronoun, as proposed by Hong (1957), Wang (1958), Ma (1959), Li and Thompson (1977), Feng (1993), Peyraube and Wiebusch (1994), Katz (1996), and others; and (c) it originated from the interactions between a demonstrative pronoun and a verb, as indicated by Sun (1992).<sup>2</sup>

Where did the copula *shi* come from and how did it develop? This paper attempts to answer both of these questions. It is concluded that the copula *shi* came from the demonstrative pronoun because it was reanalyzed as the head of the nominal predicate. In addition, it is suggested that the insertion of the copula is an economical means to disambiguate syntactic structures.

## 2. THE PREVIOUS ANALYSES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHINESE COPULA

In addition to *shi*, *ci* can also be used as a demonstrative pronoun meaning 'this' or 'these'. Since *ci* can also occur in the environment in which the copula *shi* developed, those who hypothesize that the copula *shi* developed from the demonstrative pronoun via topic-to-subject movement need to account for the fact that *ci* did not develop into a copula. Examples are given in (7a) and (7b).

- (7)a. *Fu yu gui shi ren zhi suo yu ye.*  
 wealth and nobility this person's thing want prt.  
 'Wealth and nobility, these are the things everybody longs for.'
- b. *Fu yu gui ci ren zhi suo yu ye.*  
 wealth and nobility this person's thing want prt.  
 'Wealth and nobility, these are the things everybody longs for.'

Why didn't *ci* develop into a copula, and how did *shi* become a copula? These questions are explored in both Feng (1993) and Yen (1986). In the following, I will review their proposals and discuss the major problems with their analyses.

## 2.1 Feng (1993)

Feng proposes that the Chinese copula *shi* developed from the demonstrative pronoun *shi* through the following steps: First, the phonological pause between the subject and the predicate became unnecessary in equational sentences; second, the function of the demonstrative pronoun *shi* was weakened; third, the adverbs preceding the demonstrative *shi* pushed *shi* into the pause position. As a result, the anaphoric function of *shi* became opaque, and *shi* was reanalyzed as a copula. The example in (8) can be analyzed as in (9) according to Feng.



topic-to-subject movement. If there was no topic-to-subject movement, the demonstrative pronoun *shi* would not become opaque and develop into a copula.

Second, in Feng's analysis, the more [adv-*shi*] appeared, the more [*shi*=be] was produced in Archaic Chinese. Feng's evidence is from the classic Chinese written texts such as *Lunheng* (100 A.D.) and *Shishuoxinyu* (450 A.D.). According to Wang (1958), the copula *shi* already existed in Late Han (1st c. A.D.).<sup>4</sup> Therefore, Feng's observation cannot serve as evidence for the development of the Chinese copula *shi*. It can only serve as evidence *shi* had already become a verb so that adverbs could appear before it, and that adverbs are increasingly placed before *shi* after it has developed into a copula. Support for this hypothesis comes from the earlier written texts in Chinese. For example, in *Mengzi* (300 B.C.) only one adverb is found occurring before *shi*; in *Lunheng* (100 A.D.), eight adverbs can be found occurring before *shi*, while in *Shishuoxinyu* (450 A.D.), 32 adverbs are found occurring before *shi*.

Third, Feng argues that the demonstrative pronoun *ci* never developed into a copula because (a) the frequency of occurrence of *ci* was lower than that of *shi*, and (b) no adverbs could occur before *ci*. As mentioned in (7a) and (7b), *shi* and *ci* could occur in the same syntactic environment in which Feng argues the copula *shi* developed. The argument that *ci* did not develop into a copula simply because it had a lower frequency of occurrence is very weak. In addition, as I have mentioned before, adverbs could appear before *shi* because *shi* had already changed into a verb. *Ci* never became a verb; thus, no adverbs could occur before it. Feng's proposal is weakened since neither (a) nor (b) can prevent *ci* from developing into a copula.

### 2.3 Yen (1986) and the Problem with Yen's Analysis

Yen proposes that the copula *shi* originated as a particle of affirmation which had as its opposite the particle of negation, *fei* ('wrong'). He explains that the copula *shi* appeared because speakers came to feel that it was the exact antonym of the negative *fei*. Since the negative *fei* was most commonly used before a nominal predicate, its affirmative counterpart *shi* naturally began to appear before a nominal predicate, just like a copula. Yen's analysis, which can be considered an analogical change, is illustrated in (12) and (13).

- (12) *fei* 'wrong' :: *shi* 'right'  
       = *fei* 'negative' :: *shi* 'affirmative'  
       = occur before nominal predicate :: occur before nominal predicate

- (13) *fei* => *bu shi* => *bu* + verb => *bu* + *shi* (therefore, *shi* is a verb)

To explain why the affirmative particle *shi* was reanalyzed as a copula, Yen proposes two motivations. First, because the sentence-final particle *ye* disappeared, the affirmative *shi* was regarded as the marker of a nominal predicate. Second, after the negative *fei* was replaced by *bu shi* ('be not'), the affirmative particle *shi* was regarded as a verb because the negative *bu* could appear before it. Yen explains that new generations of speakers of the language reanalyzed the affirmative particle *shi* as a copula.

Yen says that *ci* ('this/these') did not have the meaning of 'right', and hence it was never paired with *fei* as an antonym; *ci* did not develop into a copula since it could not be used as a particle of affirmation that contrasted with the negative *fei*.

Yen's proposal was strongly based on the assumption that *fei* was first replaced by *bu shi* ('be not'). The reason that *shi* was treated as a copula was because *bu* preceded it. However, there is a problem with Yen's analysis. As Ma (1959: 67) points out, *fei* could not have been replaced by *bu shi* before the Han dynasty (from 206 B.C. to 220 A.D.). If Ma's argument is correct, then *shi* functioned as a copula earlier than *fei* was replaced by *bu shi*. Thus, there is a logical fallacy in

Yen's proposal and it therefore cannot explain why the copula *shi* developed before *fei* was replaced by *bu shi*.

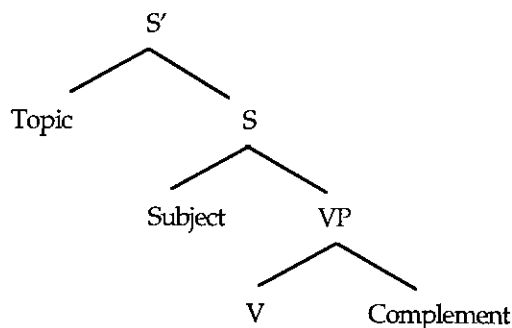
### 3. AN ALTERNATIVE ANALYSIS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHINESE COPULA

A new analysis will be proposed to account for the development of the Chinese copula and, at the same time, provide answers to the following questions: (a) How did *shi* develop into a copula? (b) Why did *shi* become a copula but *ci* did not?

#### 3.1 Structure and Copula Development

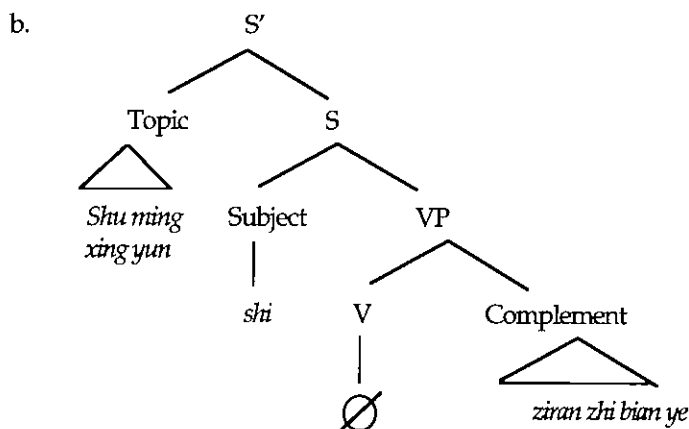
There are different representations of sentence structure. For convenience, I will analyze sentence structure as shown in (14).

(14)



In the above structure, VP refers to the predicate or comment. The nominal predicate or comment in an equational sentence can be analyzed as a VP which is projected by an empty V. Both topic and subject can be either a clause (S) or a noun phrase (NP). The sentence *Shu ming xing yun shi ziran zhi bian ye* in (15a) can be represented as in (15b).

- (15)a. *Shu ming xing yun shi ziran zhi bian ye.* = (8)  
 tree rustle star fall these nature 's change prt  
 'Trees rustle, stars fall, these are natural phenomena.'



In (15), *shu ming xing yun* is the topic, while the demonstrative pronoun *shi* ('this/these'), which refers to the topic, is the subject; *ziran zhi bian ye* is the nominal predicate headed by an empty V. Using this structural representation, I will explain how the demonstrative pronoun *shi* underwent grammaticalization and became a copula.

### 3.2 The Relation between Copula and Pronoun

Why are pronouns chosen to perform copular functions? According to Katz (1996: 62), "copulas and third person pronouns code the same basic concept ('existence in time and space') under different grammatical guises, the one more verbally, the other more nominally. When the surrounding linguistic material regroups, the same morpheme that coded 'a being' may be used to express the act of 'being', and vice versa."

Eid (1983: 206) takes Arabic as an example and suggests that the pronouns are perhaps the most reasonable choice for the performance of a copular function because verbs in Arabic must agree with their subjects in gender, number, and person. They are the most efficient to use with respect to the Arabic verb system since they provide all the information required within this system. (16) is an example in which the third person pronoun *huwwa* ('he') is treated as a copula.

- (16) *il-mudarris huwwa da.*  
the teacher is this  
'The teacher is this.'

From Eid's (1983) observation, it is found that a pronoun can be chosen to perform a copular function because both of them share certain morphological properties. This shows that the development of a copula is not necessarily motivated by topic-to-subject mechanism, as proposed by Li & Thompson (1977).

### 3.3 *Ye* and the Development of the Copula

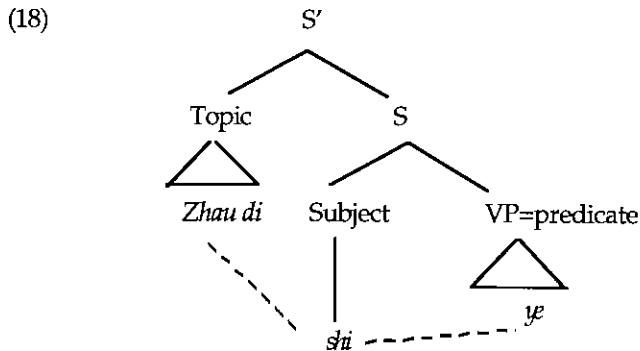
Peyraube and Wiebusch (1994: 383) define a copula in Chinese as an overt word which links a subject and a nominal predicate when used in equational sentences. They argue that *ye* at the end of the sentence served as a linker between a subject and a nominal predicate; it may thus be considered a copula. According to this argument, Archaic Chinese had copulas since the Pre-Archaic period (14th-11th B.C.).

It is suggested in this paper that *ye* was a predicate marker rather than a copula since it co-occurred with verbal or adjectival predicates, in addition to nominal predicates, in declarative sentences. Moreover, it also occurred in interrogative sentences. When *ye* occurred with a noun phrase in an equational sentence, it marked the noun phrase as a predicate rather than linking a subject and a predicate.

To explain how the demonstrative pronoun *shi* obtained verbal characteristics, I propose the structure of the example (17) in (18).

- (17) *De xing Wu di, sheng zi yi ren, Zhao di shi ye.* (Shi ji)  
obtain favor Wu emperor bear son one person Zhao emperor dem. pred. marker  
'(She) won the favor of the emperor Wu, and gave a birth to a son, who is the emperor Zhao.'

(Shi ji)



In (18) *shi* has both anaphoric and verbal functions, a claim consistent with both Ao (1985) and Sun (1992). According to my hypothesis, *shi* began to lose its anaphoric function and become a marker of the predicate. The former marker of the predicate, *ye*, was gradually replaced by *shi*; as a result, *shi* became a copular verb.

Peyraube and Wiebusch (1994) observe that after *shi* developed into a copula, both forms “NP1+*shi*+NP2” and “NP1+*shi*+NP2+*ye*” still existed in equational sentences, but the second became increasingly marginal and was reserved for writings of a rather literary character. *Ye* gradually disappeared. Examples are provided in (19) and (20).

- (19) *Ci shi wo zhen nuxu ye.*  
 this be I real son-in-law pred. marker.  
 ‘This is my real son-in-law.’  
 (Sou shen ji)

- (20) *Ru shi wo zi .*  
 you be my son  
 ‘You are my son.’  
 (Faxian zhuan)

In both (19) and (20) *shi* can only be interpreted as a copula since it is preceded by a pronoun (demonstrative or personal), but *ye* only appears in (19).

As mentioned above, it was in the environment where *shi* was immediately followed by *ye* that it gradually became a marker of the predicate and obtained its verbal function. The fact that an adverb such as *bi* (‘certainly’) could be placed before *shi* proves that *shi* had already changed from a pronoun to a verb, or at the least was already undergoing the process of grammaticalization, which started at the latest under the Qin dynasty (around 180 B.C.) (Peyraube and Wiebusch 1994). An example is given in (21).

- (21) *Ci bi shi ye.*  
 this certainly be pred. marker  
 ‘This certainly is.’  
 (Lu shi chunqiu: zhong yan)

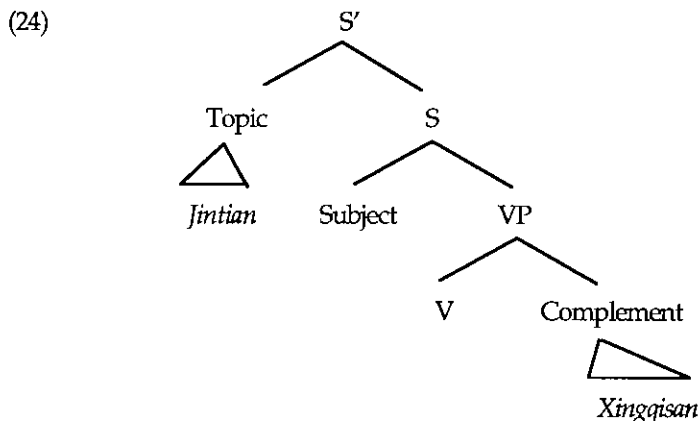
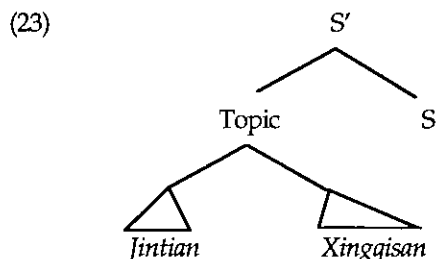
I suggest that it is the form “NP+*shi*+*ye*” that enabled *shi* to be analyzed as a verb since in this environment *shi* gradually replaced *ye* and became a copula. *Ci* never occurred in the form “NP+*ci*+*ye*”; therefore, it could not develop into a copula.

My proposal in this paper has several advantages. First, there is no topic-to-subject movement so that we do not have to propose that Chinese has developed into a subject-oriented language. Second, *shi*, but not *ci*, developed into a copula because *ci* never occurred in the

environment "NP+*ci*+*ye*". Therefore, *ci* did not develop into a copular verb. It is not necessary to compare the frequency of occurrence of *shi* with that of *ci* to account for the development of the copula. Third, it is only after *shi* developed into a copula that adverbs could occur before it. This explains why all instances of *shi* occurring after adverbs are analyzed as copulas. In addition, *ci* never becomes a verb; therefore, no adverbs can occur before it.

In addition, the copula *shi* in Chinese can serve as an anti-ambiguity device: it forces a sentential interpretation of a structure, thus preventing potential ambiguity with a topic interpretation. For example, (22) has either the structure in (23) or that in (24).

- (22) Jintian Xingqisan  
 today Wednesday  
 'Today, Wednesday' or 'Today is Wednesday.'



However, when the copula *shi* is inserted in (22), it can only have sentential interpretation, as in (24). If this is the case, the use of the copula in Chinese can be regarded as an economical means to reduce the ambiguity of the different interpretations (structures).

#### 4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper has presented arguments concerning the origin and the development of the copula *shi*. It is claimed that neither the placement of adverbs nor topic-to-subject movement caused *shi* to be analyzed as a copula. After *shi* became a marker of the predicate and its anaphoric function disappeared, it developed into a copula. The demonstrative pronoun *ci* never became a copula since it never occurred in the environment "NP+*ci*+*ye*", from which a marker of the predicate was derived.

Moreover, it has been shown that the presence of the copula *shi* can reduce the potential ambiguity of different interpretations though it increases structural complexity. It is interesting to find that a language prefers structural complexity (e.g., the presence of the copula) if it can reduce potential ambiguity (i.e., more than one interpretation).



Furthermore, my proposal in this paper takes actual language phenomena into account. If a demonstrative pronoun could develop into a copula in Chinese, it is also expected that the same development may take place in other languages, such as, Hebrew, Palestinian Arabic, and Zway, as claimed by Li and Thompson (1977). Moreover, if a copula developed from a pronoun can serve as an anti-ambiguity device, it also predicts that the same phenomenon can be observed in other languages, and, in fact, this phenomenon has been observed by Eid (1983) in Egyptian Arabic.

## NOTES

- \* My special thanks go to Dr. Ying-che Li for his comments and discussions, and to Farooq Babrakzai, Chengzhi Chu, Hui-hua Hwang, and Marc Miyake for their helpful suggestions. All remaining errors are mine.
- 1 Yen (1986) and Feng (1993) treat *ye* as a sentence-final particle; Li and Thompson (1977) regard it as a declarative particle; however, Peyraube and Wiebusch (1994: 388) believe *ye* to be a copula since it links an NP subject and a nominal predicate and expresses an assertion.
  - 2 Sun (1992) argues that the copula *shi* developed into a copula not only from a demonstrative pronoun but from a verb. He says that it was the verbal function of *shi* that caused *shi* to develop into a copula. According to Sun, the demonstrative pronoun *ci* 'this/these' did not develop into a copula because it never acted as a verb.
  - 3 In Feng's analysis, *Shu ming xing yu* can also be analyzed as two separate sentences (i.e. S1[*shu ming*], S2[*xing yu*]).
  - 4 Peyraube and Wiebusch (1994: 384) propose that the copula *shi*, in fact, already existed in Late Archaic Chinese, during the Zhanguo period (5th-3rd B.C.).

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# FROM ANACHRONISTIC TO CUTTING EDGE

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## ABSTRACT

Peter Elbow, a leading scholar in the field of composition instruction, has dedicated his long and distinguished career to advancement of student writing facilitation. While he has always maintained a certain element of resistance in the personal and political arenas of his life and teachings, it was the shock of the discovery of his own resistance to the formal academic process which proved an almost insurmountable barrier to his own education. Elbow's awakening to his own ability to write and to teach others to write, therefore, became a process of self discovery, whereby his struggle to learn and his learning to teach writing is transformed into a hybrid pedagogy, a pedagogy that breaks the process of writing into palpable components. His method of teaching writing makes room for both non-academic writing and academic writing in academic writing and the of teaching writing.

Most scholars in the field of English Composition consider Peter Elbow to be one of the most significant pioneers in composition and process writing. He is the educator responsible for making writing accessible to any level of user from the beginning writing student to the educational professional. Yet, Elbow maintains a certain element of resistance in the personal and political arenas of his life and teaching. He spent much of his early life easily flowing through the elite academic establishment propelled by scholarships and patronage. In Elbow's case, however, it was the shock of the discovery of his own resistance to the formal, traditional academic process which proved a continuing barrier to his ability to progress. His main achievement, in a sense, and the reciprocity between his personal and professional life, hinged on Elbow's ability to channel his own resistance to academic writing into a way of interpreting it. Elbow's awakening of his own ability to write and to teach others to write, therefore, becomes a process of self discovery, whereby writing is transformed into a hybrid pedagogy.<sup>1</sup> He accomplishes this by promoting the repetitive practice of writing for various levels of audience: from the uncriticized free write "no matter how stupid, impractical or imperfect it seems," to the critical, formal, criterion-based essay (Elbow WWP 8).

What is truly remarkable about Elbow's method of teaching writing is that his style of teaching connects almost effortlessly with the recent advent of computerized instruction and e-mail, which combines the best elements of both the anachronistic practice of letter writing and telephone use into a form of instantaneous, electronic, cutting edge communication and teaching practice. While critics such as David Bartholomae at first argued that Elbow's free writing teaching method was an anachronistic recursive writing activity, the inclusion of e-mail as a common-place activity in the home, office and classroom changed his method into a cutting edge electronic educational practice. To better understand the influences, occurrences and resistances that combined to produce one of America's most influential educators of the twentieth century, this paper will focus on the life-changing events that shaped Peter Elbow's life.

Psychologists believe that it is the external social and historical influences which create our most relevant characteristics (Cloninger 131). With this as a cognitive frame, it can be seen that environment and the historical and political circumstances of his time share equal weight in Elbow's development as a writer and educator. We will begin, therefore, with the events that took place when Elbow became draft eligible during the Vietnam War, which would prove to be one of the most significant turning points in his life.

Elbow had been in college between 1953-57, during the end of the Korean War. He felt himself apolitical and chose to "unconsciously ignore" the events that were taking place (Elbow Tape #1). After college he received several more draft deferments and, during the early part of the Vietnam War, he continued to receive deferments. As a result, because Elbow felt himself to be a perpetual student, thus draft-deferred, he took for granted that he would not be drafted. However,

in the latter part of 1967 or early 1968 while he was a graduate student at Brandeis, he received a notification stating that he was 1-A from his draft board. At the time, he remembers saying to himself, "Well of course there's been some mistake" (#1). However, when Elbow wrote and told them he was a part-time student, they wrote back and reiterated his 1-A classification.

Elbow was in Boston teaching at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), attending classes at Brandeis University at the time, and hated the idea of having to be in the army and killing people. Nor could he quite sort out two similar but critically different stances he calls "feelings" about being drafted (#1). One feeling was that he hated the whole patriarchal ethos of militarization and regimentation, especially the mindless obedience to authority. As a result of his aversion to overt authoritarianism, Elbow knew he would hate everything about being in the army. He felt, however, that simply hating everything authoritarian about the army seemed "a selfish, soft feeling, not wanting to put up with something extremely unpleasant" (#1). At the same time, it was absolutely clear to him that the Vietnam War was politically and morally wrong. Confused about whether he was caught in a moral dilemma or if it was simply a question of his own personal comfort, Elbow did not know what to do. When he discussed his dilemma with a friend, he was informed that the Quakers have struggled with the issues of war for centuries, and that those were the people with whom he should be talking. As a result, Elbow found a draft counseling center run by Quakers and talked to their advisors. He also attended Quaker services a few times. While it was unnecessary to attend Quaker services to receive their draft counseling, Elbow was compelled to attend because he felt a sense of obligation to participate and the need to fully understand the Quaker experience. Elbow had always been a "good boy", an eager achiever who always gave all of himself to whatever he endeavored to do, so without this level of understanding, Elbow would not have felt comfortable with his decision.

Until faced with the prospect of being drafted, Elbow had not given any thought to the idea that he might be a "conscientious objector" (#1). After he went to draft counseling, attended Quaker meetings and did quite a lot of rather serious and difficult soul searching, he struggled to construct the best case he could on paper and sent it to his draft board. The notice he received in return stated that his application for conscientious objector status was not accepted. Elbow had a chance to appeal it in person, so he went to New Jersey, met the draft board and made his appeal. Elbow remembers little of the experience except that he was nervous and left the meeting feeling that it had been perfunctory and unsatisfying. A few weeks later he was notified that his appeal was unsuccessful.

This was the first instance in Elbow's life where he consciously confronted authority. Even though he was not granted conscientious objector status, he felt justified about his objection to all wars and felt empowered by his decision. Because Elbow felt grateful for the help he had received from the Quaker draft counseling people, he tried to return their help by becoming a draft counselor. The issue for most draftees, according to Elbow, was not really internal and personal, "does the draftee really mean what he says", but there is the question of how the members of a particular draft board internally and collectively define legal conscientious objection (#1). The government, by giving an unclear definition of a conscientious objector, allowed individual draft boards to render judgments based solely on their beliefs about the draftee's sincerity.<sup>2</sup> Thus, it was not valid to only be against the Vietnam War; you also had to be against all war, all killing. As a draft counselor, he tried to be of use to other people who questioned their own status, and, through this participation, learned the applicable laws. This struggle to define the difference between desire and ethics influenced both his intellectual and academic life. It led to his very first publication in a magazine called *Christian Sentry* in the form of a letter, entitled "What is a Conscientious Objector?" He felt that, since he had learned the complicated process of the laws and regulations, he could explain them clearly and assist others.

Elbow's first article helped him to rediscover that he enjoyed and was good at taking a complicated and sensitive issue and explaining it textually in "very clear, down-to-earth terms"

(#1). A tight, crisp way of explaining something complicated and getting it very orderly is the type of writing for which he is best known. While Elbow celebrates "disorderly writing,"<sup>3</sup> loves disorderly writing, he is quick to point out that he takes pleasure in and has a "feel" for orderly writing (#1). In 1968, in a *College English* article, "A Method for Teaching Writing," Elbow used his article clarifying the laws and statutes concerning conscientious objector status as a "striking and important" example of writing for two reasons(#1). The first reason is that from an extremely practical piece of writing a writer is able to make something happen. The second reason, according to Elbow, is that this writing sets a peculiar task for the writer because the draft board and the law have an extremely interesting criterion that determines whether an application is valid. The criterion is not what your belief is; you can believe in anything. The criterion of the law states: "Is this belief sincere, do you really hold this belief. Or are you only saying you hold this belief" (#1). Thus the problem becomes, how does the writer write something to make potentially hostile strangers believe that s/he says what s/he believes. While most writing in school and the world really is explicitly judged on the question of whether you express acceptable thoughts, have the right content, and describe the right concepts, Elbow's conscientious objection application is a piece of writing in which it does not matter what the thoughts or concepts or content is; the only thing that matters is whether a conscientious objector is sincere in his beliefs and can convince the draft board that he believes those thoughts or concepts.

This issue becomes the central issue to Elbow's pedagogy about personal voice as the center of any writing. He believes that whether a set of words has voice, whether a set of words has power has to do not so much with what you say, but with whether you say it in such a way that the reader "believes" your personal sincerity. And this, he states, is a very tricky task, because maybe your first temptation is to jump up and down and shout, "I believe! I believe! My God I believe!" Sometimes rather quiet intensity is better than shouting. Using lots of "I really really really really believe." doesn't do the trick. . . . How do you convince a reader that you mean what you say? (#1). Elbow found answering the question of believability such an interesting task that his next publication addressed the issue of how one produces a set of words that carries meaning and conveys to the reader a sense that you really mean what you say. While the nature of the draft is to make robots out of the young men of our nation, resisters of the draft, like Elbow, sought to encourage and support the individual thinking and resistance within each draftee.

Once involved in resisting the draft, Elbow also chose to help others through what he considered a soul-wrenching experience. Confronted with the thought of having to leave his home and country to avoid the draft, Elbow chose to stay and struggle with his own inner demons, and, at the same time, help other young Americans with their own inner struggles while he waited. Counseling, however, was not enough for Elbow; he also wrote a well-reasoned essay which exposed his opposition to the war and clarified the complicated laws and statutes integral to obtaining status as a conscientious objector. Active resistance exposed him to the scrutiny and resentment of the various arms of the federal government, as well as the general public.

Ironically, he was later to discover that he was too old to be drafted, and that he had never been in danger of being drafted at any time during the petitioning process. But his confrontation with his own internalized ethos led him to a very strong personal stance:

until we get rid of all armies, or until this country has no army at all, there should be a draft, and every single person should be eligible. Because if I hadn't been eligible for the draft, I never would have thought my way through to my conscientious objector status. I never would have been politicized. . . only getting a 1-A, only being eligible for the draft made that latent piece of moral thinking and feeling come about (#1).

Elbow's moral position is also ironic for another reason: it demonstrates his social class's privileged naiveté about several pertinent political Vietnam issues: First, the reason Elbow received several draft deferments was because he was in graduate school during a time when relatively few students continued past a Baccalaureate degree; second, he was a member of a privileged socio-economic class, while the bulk of the Vietnam conscriptions were culled from the minorities and the poor;

third, the lower class conscriptees were most likely aware that the draft age cut-off was twenty-six; and, fourth, Elbow was an extremely privileged member of the White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, male class who had the luxury of being inadvertent *Fortunate Sons*. Therefore, he had the luxury of being comfortably blind to social and political issues until they impacted him personally.

While Elbow wholly credits the preceding incident as the determinate cause of his moral stance on all war and killing, it could be safely conjectured, from a psychoanalytical point of view, that much of the formation of his ideas, integrity and motivation to write believable, clear, straight-forward prose was also due to earlier social influences that combined to mold his character. Therefore, our gaze must regress in time to understand how those earlier influences combined within Elbow to arrive at this "amazing transformation in his mentality" and the beginnings of his writing career (#1).

By the time Elbow entered his undergraduate program at Williams College in 1953, he felt himself well on the road to academic success. His teachers, however, were experienced while he was naive, so his writing appeared to lack intellectual depth. Since Elbow was eager to do well and worked hard, by the end of the first year he began to show improvement. Gradually, and naively, he began to dream of entering the glamorous academic world as a learned, ironic, pipe-smoking professor of literature. Although he found no pleasure in writing, he was able to write the required assignments because it was all critical and required no personal investment. Elbow lost the imaginative element in his work that had begun to develop while still in high school. During his last two years of college, he began to notice that writing was becoming an ordeal. Motivated by fear, there were more all-nighters and more anxiety after turning in the paper. Elbow was beginning to learn the high cost of A's.

To escape the pressures of writing, Elbow spent the summer between his junior and senior years in 1956 wandering around Europe. This experience made him want to return to Europe, so he tried for all the scholarships he could. Elbow's first choice was Italy, but he was offered an Honorary Woodrow Wilson fellowship and a Danforth fellowship to go to Oxford, both considered highly prestigious, after he graduated Magna Cum Laude with a Bachelor of Arts from Williams. When he arrived in England, Elbow found it "dour and lonely" (#1). According to Elbow, this was due in part to the strict class system that the British rigidly enforce. As a consequence, it was hard for Peter to make friends, especially at Exeter College where there were students from lower-class districts of London who were suspicious of rich Americans who could afford to attend college in another country. When Elbow had set off for England in 1957, he had thought he was on the top of the world and didn't need anyone. He had thought himself impervious to social snobbery but not when elitism was applied in reverse. Elbow states, "I had my legs cut out from under me to discover how lonely I was" (#1).

The British system of education is quite different from the American system. It is based on weekly tutorials which lead to extensive program-end final exams. Elbow's tutor at Oxford was Jonathan Wordsworth, the great-grandnephew of William Wordsworth, the nineteenth century master of clear, precise writing. Wordsworth, who was beginning his Exeter teaching, was ironic, caustic and arrogant, while Elbow was still eager to be liked and praised. Tutorials took place in the tutor's rooms. Each week Elbow would be forced to knock on Wordsworth's door, enter, then read his essay aloud and open himself up to parody and ridicule. After giving Elbow his weekly instruction, Wordsworth would tell Elbow to read another author and write something interesting for their next meeting. During one memorable visit, Wordsworth cleaned his gun as Elbow read, and during other visits he ridiculed Elbow's broad vowel, East Coast, American accent. Long before the end of the term, Elbow was unable to write. He would spend a week finishing the first sentence or paragraphs or pages before throwing them away, then seeking out Wordsworth to tell him he had failed to write anything. Elbow had thought he had become a sophisticated and critical

writer while at Williams, but the Oxford experience proved that he still naively wanted and needed praise.

During his second year, Elbow was only able to continue to struggle because he changed his tutor. As the nine three-hour exams approached, given in the last four and one-half days of his Master's program, his doctor placed him on Valium. Elbow was terrified of failure, but the essay exams did not impede his ability to write as much as Wordsworth's tutorials had done because he did not have time to agonize over his words or revise what he had written.<sup>4</sup> On the card he gratefully received announcing his standing as the "undistinguished second,"<sup>5</sup> Wordsworth had written, "Pretty much what we expected." Ironically, Elbow later discovered that essays written for his tutorial sessions were merely meant to act as study guides and were given in order to help students pass the examinations given at the end of their two years of study. Failing to question the English Dons or their educational system resulted in needless worry and conflict which led to emotional instability.

Although much in need of a break from school after receiving his degree in England, Elbow entered the Harvard English doctoral program in the Fall of 1959. Even though he had received what could only be considered by most academics to be a mediocre review from a prestigious university, Elbow continued to flow through the academic system as if propelled by an "unknown source."<sup>6</sup> Although Elbow knew he still had difficulty writing, he avidly wanted to become a professor and friends were advising him to "get it [his Ph.D.] out of the way"—as if his professional degree were something knowingly painful, but unavoidable. In American graduate schools, however, seminar papers are the major criteria used for grading. Elbow barely made it through his first semester, then dropped out of school during the second semester after the first few weeks because he knew his writing and health were becoming progressively worse. He felt a total failure because he was unable to keep his commitments to his parents, friends and self, and because he had defined his identity on his ability to earn a Ph. D. and become a professor. Success for Elbow, up until that point in time, had been entirely measured by his ability to succeed in school; as a consequence, when he quit, he felt ruined and never wanted to have anything to do with school again.

Although Elbow attended prestigious schools and received the highest honors and awards, he still felt he did not fit into the student or professor mold. As a result, after Elbow dropped out of the Harvard program, he became depressed and felt unable to control any part of his life. Doing the right thing, being the good boy, could no longer sustain him, and his eagerness to please finally collapsed under the weight of academic rigidity. With the help of family and friends, however, he managed to struggle through his depression, and through a friend,<sup>7</sup> found work teaching. Through teaching, Elbow discovered that it was when he was outside of his own world of privilege and working to help others that he was able to make personal breakthroughs of his own. In order to effectively teach his courses, Elbow was forced to find ways to help students with their writing, which also forced him to ruminate over his own inability to write and to invent new ways for learning writing. Many of these writing inventions became a part of the process Elbow utilizes today when he teaches writing. Starting with a freewrite,<sup>8</sup> Elbow teaches his students to concentrate on loopwriting<sup>9</sup> to gain "control and creativity" and discover a fluidity and ease in their own writing (Elbow WWP 59-67).

By creating these and other writing aids, Elbow was eventually able to overcome his own writing block and return to finish his doctoral program at Brandeis University four years later in 1965. When he entered the program, he returned with the attitude that graduate school had already exacted all it could from him, and this made it easier for him to find his own direction and to say whatever he wanted. He also admits, although both stubborn and hungry for academic legitimacy, he could not have succeeded without a background of good schools, support he could take for granted, and an "old boy network" which gave him an instructorship at MIT in 1960. Later

in 1963, the "network" gave him a position as a founding faculty member of Franconia, an experimental college in New Hampshire (#1).

In the Ph.D. program at Brandeis University, while purporting to have a laissez-faire attitude toward his academic work, in actuality Elbow was so frightened of failing at the writing assignments that he set himself personal deadlines for writing projects at least a week in advance of the real due date. No matter how academically unacceptable his writing was, Elbow forced himself to have the requisite number of pages complete. Then he took the final week to improve what he had written. This regime resulted in pages of text that were "useless," a writing activity he had never before considered. He also forced himself to maintain a crassly pragmatic, "nothing can hurt me" frame of mind (Elbow "Illiteracy" 5).

This attitude brings us forward in time to the moment in 1968 when Elbow received the draft notice and began his struggle to "get it [his petition for deferment] right", so he would not be drafted and be forced to kill people (Elbow "A" 13). Although much of his school experience led him to view writing as a painful, burdensome task, when necessity arose, he could write because he had finally allowed himself the space to get his writing wrong, and enough time left over to make it right. In retrospect, when ruminating over his struggle with writing, Elbow posits:

The essays I wrote in college were often ambitious and thoughtful, but they were almost always muddy and unclear. . . . I was struggling as hard as I could to say what I meant—to be as clear. . . . in retrospect, I think I was playing a game with my teachers . . . It strikes me now that maybe I didn't want my meaning to be clear ("Illiteracy" 6).

It was at this point in his life that Elbow recognized that language can be used to disguise as well as convey meaning, even from ourselves, and that sometimes we write so that only certain people will understand us; for example, professionals and academics who use language to, as Elbow says, "exclude the unwashed" (8). Further, Elbow also realized that his avoidance game arose, not from arrogance, but from anger at his instructors who were unwilling to individualize his education. He saw his instructors as wanting to divest him of all his previous learning to, as he states, "strip me down; get rid of all my naiveté and wrong feelings" (8). They refused to deal with him as he was; they had to change him, and because he desperately wanted to be like his teachers, he tried to change for them.

At the beginning of his undergraduate studies at Williams, when he was not questioning authority, Elbow did not experience himself as angry. In graduate school in England, however, week after week when he knocked on Wordsworth's door without a paper, Elbow knew he was angry. He now believes that his inability to write, at that time, was the closest he came to openly refusing to write. What angers him most, was that he hid his anger not only from Wordsworth, but from himself. In a way, Elbow's graduate teachers were setting him up to fail unless he successfully converted to their form of writing. In a similar manner, the United States government was setting up the conscientious objectors to fail, so they would stop protesting. At the time, however, all Elbow understood was that he felt weak and helpless. Although he was trying with all of his might to be compliant, to satisfy the requirements of academia, his unconscious roiled with unexpressed anger. In trying to be a good student, he had been an expert at following orders, but too much compliance played havoc with his soul. He says:

I was so unable to notice or experience any resistance or refusal or anger—so mistaken about my feelings—so unable to find a path for these feelings—that they found their own underground path to short-circuit my entire ability to write and even be a student. . . . It seems clear that an important goal for teachers is to help students find fruitful or healthy ways to resist ("Illiteracy" 13).

Expert compliance and being a good boy had always opened doors of opportunity for Elbow, but in graduate school and later in England, his subconscious began to push him to express his own ideas in his own way. He developed a subversive internal resistance that would not allow anyone, including himself, to subsume his identity. This resistance, however, resulted in his failure to remain on the

gilded path that led him to Harvard, and he could not return to that path until he had invented healthy ways to resist.

After he began his first teaching assignment at MIT, where he "gradually woke up to the fact that I [he] was having a good time," that he liked to read and talk about books when it was not for the sake of taking tests or writing papers (3) His teaching changed from a "Do I love this book enough and in the right way?" approach into "How can we make it [this book] useful in our [his and the student's] lives?" (4) When his students encountered blocks in their writing, Elbow used survival techniques such as an early deadline and extended rewriting and editing time to facilitate their writing. He was helping his students to create enough time and writing practice to "get it wrong, before making it right" (#1). His writing survival techniques also aided his own burgeoning career as a published academic. While he was teaching himself to overcome his own writing blocks, he wrote notes to himself about what was taking place internally.<sup>10</sup> He saved these notes in a folder and when he went through a dry spell and was unable to write, he would stop for a short time to reflect on the impetus that helped him in the past. He would add the new techniques to his already powerful arsenal. The notes eventually became the components for some of his articles and his first book, *Writing Without Teachers*, published in 1973.

Healthy ways to resist have also played major roles in most of his subsequent published and unpublished articles about the writing process. The folders Elbow kept that were filled with notes on his own learning and teaching techniques are fascinating in and of themselves because they reveal Elbow's prescience that his work would someday be important. Few educators keep detailed notes on their own teaching, fewer still keep detailed records of their own learning struggles. It is as if Elbow somehow unconsciously knew that the work he was doing in learning how to write, how to teach writing while resisting overt authority, would be of lasting historical importance.

Evolving from a space of quiet anger, Elbow cognitively broke through the barriers which had threatened his academic career. In a sense, his self-taught education and his teaching negotiates the spaces between the good boy and bad boy, the academic and the failure and the conscientious objector and the draftee. It rescues the child by strategically and successfully working within the system to create a hybrid pedagogy. It is a pedagogy that creates a space for both non-academic and formal academic writing in the process of writing an academic piece. That is the reason the majority of his work in composition celebrates writing without teachers, free writing and writing that ignores audience, all which work to ease a writer's acute sense of audience, and empowers the writer.

## NOTES

- 1 Phrase "hybrid pedagogy" coined by Barbara Ige.
- 2 East Asian History Ph.D. Candidate UHM, Brian Cassity in a personal interview on Nov. 12, 1996, stated that draft boards in the late 1960s used 1-A classifications to harass students who participated in anti-war activities.
- 3 "I have been a celebrator of writing without teachers, writing that is free, writing that ignores audience." (Elbow "Illiteracy" 9).
- 4 The stream-of-conscious writing Elbow experienced in the artificial atmosphere of this test would later develop into the "free write" core of Elbow's teaching.
- 5 An undistinguished second in England is equivalent to a "C" grade in the United States.
- 6 The unknown source in this instance is the white, male, academic patriarchy that empowered those who were also of the right "race, class, gender, and sexual orientation." (Elbow "Illiteracy" 13).
- 7 An old friend/MIT professor asked Elbow to work as a lecturer in the early 1960s because a departmental feud had resulted in several resignations. ("Illiteracy" 3).



- 8 "The goal of free writing is the process, not the product." It is the "single, simple, mechanical goal of simply not stopping [writing]" because it "is the easiest way to get words on paper and the best all around practice in writing" (Elbow WWP).
- 9 In WWP, Elbow describes loop writing as the process of doing a series of writings that begins with an unfocused freewrite, moves through the process of writing again and again on the same subject while narrowing the focus of the theme until the paper is tight and concise. He also offers thirteen loop writing procedures that can be used by writers to gain control and creativity.
- 10 At this point, Elbow must have realized that his ruminations were valuable and might be of use to him in the future.

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